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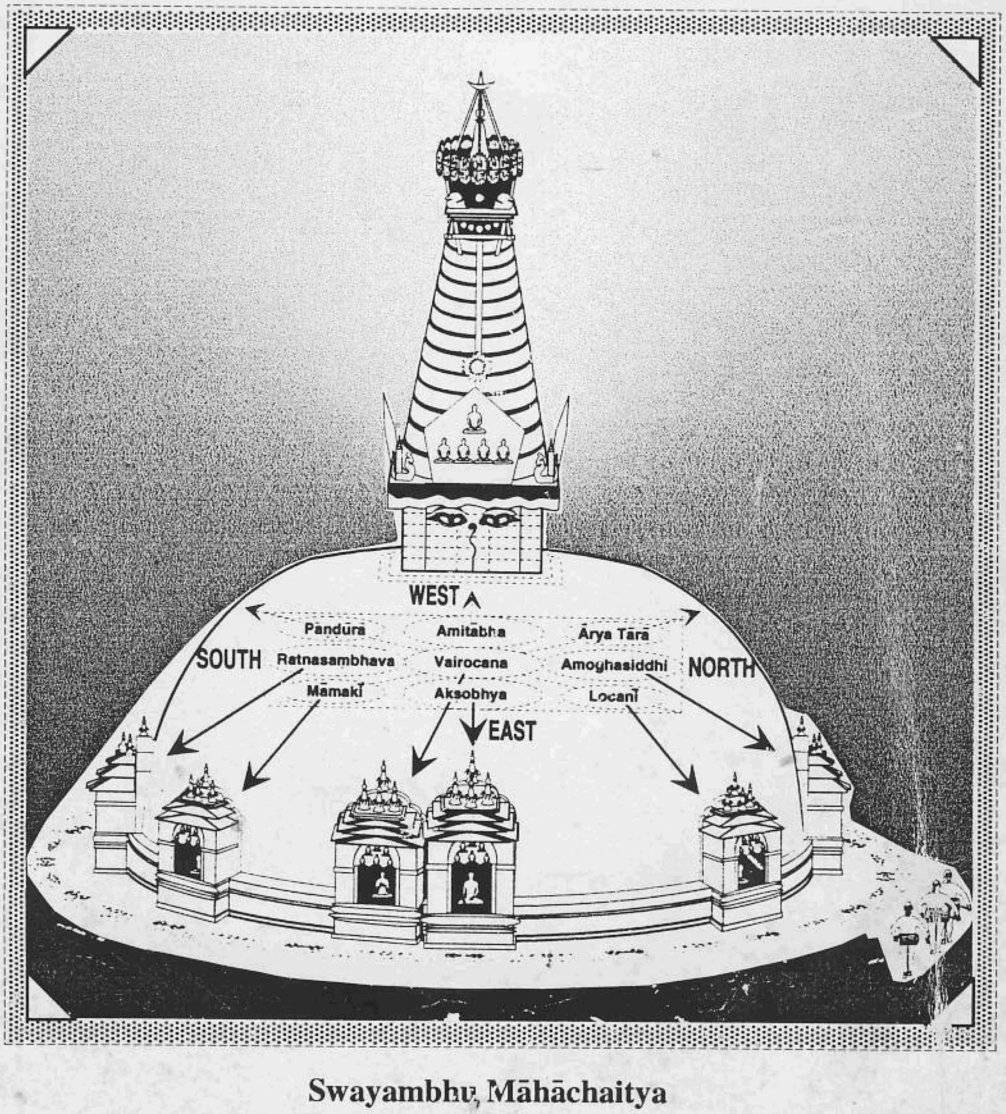

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Editorial

It has been a great pleasure bringing out the second issue of the journal of Newar Studies 'Newāh Vijñāna'. We would like to thank all the members and subscribers for their encouraging comments and financial support. We especially thank Prof. Uma Shrestha, Western Oregon University, who gave life to this journal while it was still in its embryonic stage. From the Nepal side, we must mention Prof. Tej Ratna Kanskar, Mr. Shanta Ratna Shakya and Mr. Labha Ratna Tuladhar who helped us in so many ways.

Due to our wish to publish the first issue of the journal on the occasion of New Nepal Sambat Year day (Mhapujā), we rushed at the last minute and spent less time in careful editing. Our computer software caused us trouble in converting the files from various submitted formats into a unified format. We learn while we work. Constructive comments are welcome and we will try to incorporate suggestions as much as we can.

We have received an enormous amount of comments, suggestions, appreciations and so forth, (please refer to page 94) including some serious concern about whether or not this journal should include languages other than English. We believe that this journal should not be limited to monolingual readers. If any journal devalues native speakers' contribution it would become a piece of beautiful art stored in a glass box. In order to create a forum for all what ever nationality and Newar native scholars we should avoid a language barrier. An opportunity for writing articles will be given to any one who has a deep interest on Newar Studies whether he/she is from native or non-native circles. If we focus only on English language this journal will be less important to a large number of natives, and if we exclude English no foreign scholars would notice what is happening in the native circle.

We would like to document each and every activity that takes place among the Newars living around the world as well as related studies. We hope that our motives will be more understood.

To talk about this issue we are a little bit behind the schedule of bringing the journal out on Nepal Sambat New year day (Mha-pujā). We delayed the publication of this issue until various Newar related conferences were completed, so as to include their outcome in this issue.

We would like to extend our thanks to all the contributors for this issue and to Prof. Todd Lewis, College of Holy Cross, for his reading all the English articles and for the addition of valuable comments and suggestions. Without his desire to read the articles of this issue the journal would not be in your hands. Our appreciation is also due to those people who are Prof. Linda Iltis, Mita Shrestha, Kay Norton, Tribhuvan Tuladhar, Rajesh Shrestha, Katherine Maharjan, Yogbir Shakya, Manik Bajracharya, Siddhi Ratna Shakya, Sudip Shakya and Saurav Manandhar. All of them helped us in various ways including collecting materials, reading papers, Translating and typing the articles, designing and page making, printing the text, proofreading the final version, and running from here to there in success of this issue of the journal. We hope it would be helpful for you to know about Newars in general. Once again *Nhu dan 1119 yā Bhintunā* to all of you.

नेपाल संबत १११९ दँ क्यंगु लसताय्

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नेपाल भाषा सेवा समितिपाखें

नेपाल संबत १११९ को उपलक्षमा शुभकामना

With best wishes
On the Occasion of
New Nepal Sambat Year 1119

International Nepal Bhasha Sevaa Samiti
P.O. Box. 90580
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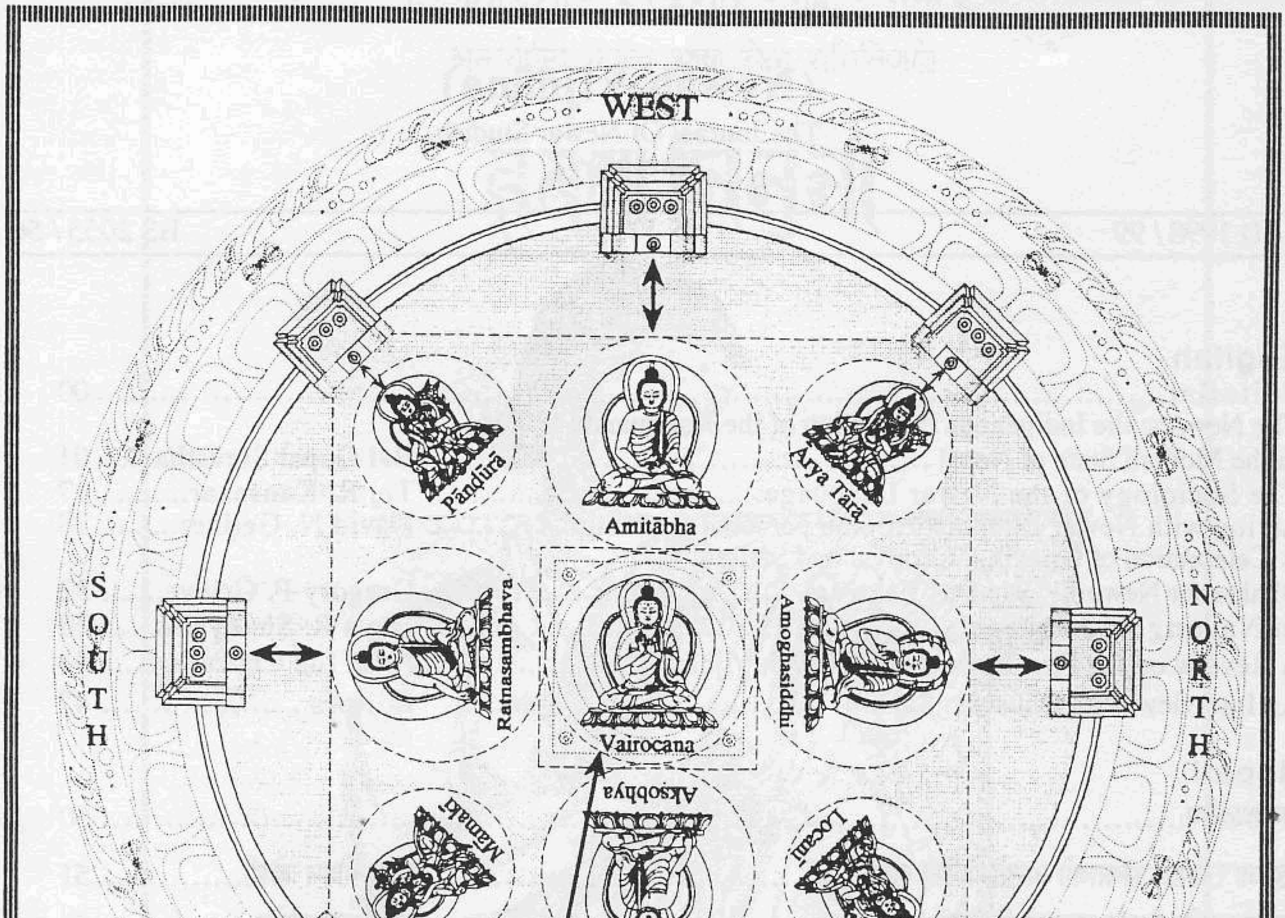

Swayambhu Māhāchaitya as a Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala

Computer Graphic Drawing by Prof. Ter Ellingson

The Newars: the Indigenous Population of the Kathmandu Valley in the Modern State of Nepal

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Introduction

The Newars are the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, their population comprises 1,041,090 which is 0.6 percent of the total population of Nepal, i.e.18,491,092.[1] Although the Newars are spread throughout the country and beyond its boundaries, in different parts of India, the majority of them are still concentrated in the valley of Kathmandu, which is the capital of modern Nepal. Previously, only the valley of Kathmandu was known by the name 'Nepal', and for many people the word 'Nepal' still continues to mean it. The Newars speak their own ethenic language that belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group, with rich ancient and modern literatures going back to the fourteenth century. During the Malla reign, from the 13th century till its downfall in 1769, the Kings themselves did a great deal to promote Newar literature, as well as other languages like Maithilī, Avadhi, Bhojpurī, and Bengālī. Sanskrit literary tradition was cultivated in the Kathmandu valley for fifteen centuries. The Malla courts supported all languages, classical and vernacular, without discrimination. The extent of the literary tradition in other languages indicates the cosmopolitan nature of the Malla courts (Malla 1982: 7). The bulk of the rich tradition of Newar art and architecture, ritual and culture, dates back to this period.

For some time this tradition continued after the Gorkha conquest of Nepal in 1769 A.D. The treaty of 1775 between Tibet and Nepal during the reign of King Pratap Singh Shah was compiled in Newar language(NL). The Shah Kings Ranabahadur (1777-1799) and Girvanyuddha (1799-1816) wrote many songs in Newar language (NL).[2] King Rajendravikram (1816-1847) even wrote a play in NL.[3] In the later period of the Shah reign, however, the Newar language was replaced by the language of the rulers, the Khasakurā. This language at present is known as Nepālī, which is the official language of Nepal. Fifty years from the end of Rajendravikram's reign until the beginning of the renaissance period (1899-1940), Newar literature was conspicuosly absent, except for a few religious songs. The discontinuation of Newar literature during that period still remains a mystery. With the rise of the Rana oligarchy (1847-1951) the Shah Kings were almost imprisoned by their prime ministers. At the beginning of this century, Rana prime minister Chandra Shamsher (1900-1928) banned the NL in 1905 from the court of justice, the administration, land registration and so on.[4] His successors, such as Juddha Shamsher (1932-1945), went even further in restricting the NL writings.[5] Many Newar writers had to suffer jail sentences and many others were exiled during this period. From then onwards, Newar intellectuals started to establish literary organizations to promote their language. The language movement which did not have any feature of an ethnic inspiration at the beginning started to acquire an ethnic nature from the late 1970s. In September 1995, the National Forum of the Newars (Nevāh De Dabū) was founded, with the aim of seeking to assert the ethnic rights of the Newars.

Historical background of Newar identity

I. The Origin of the Newars

The word 'Newar' is etymologically identical with the place name 'Nepāl'. According to the historian Baburam Acharya the word **Nevār, Nevāl or Nevāh** all have developed from the single word 'Nepāl'.[6] Malla confirms that an 512 A.D. inscription of Vasantadev of

Tistung is the first evidence that the word Nepāl was used for the people of Nepal[7]. According to the oldest chronicle of Nepal, the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*,(1985) Kirātas ruled Nepal for 32 generations.[8] So far there is no recorded history of the Kirātas. Only their successors, the Lichhavis, who ruled Nepal from the fifth to the ninth century A.D, have left a corpus of inscriptions. Those inscriptions are all in pure Sanskrit language. By analyzing the place and river names written in those inscriptions K.P. Malla concluded that, although the Lichhavi rulers were inclined to use Sanskrit, the language spoken by the people belonged to the Tibeto-Burman stock. He considers it likely that the nominal words found in the inscriptions are an archaic form of the Newar language.[9] According to Gellner (1995: 5) 'The Newar language seems to have been spoken by the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley as far back as the records go.' Another anthropologist Dor Bahadur Bista (1976: 16) writes, "The Newar people had been settled in the Nepal Valley since the prehistoric time".

After the Lichhavis, Nepal was ruled by the Thakuris from the ninth to the twelfth century. But not much historical evidence has been found from this period. So far, the earliest evidence of the use of the NL is found on a palm leaf of Pāṭan Ukū Bāhāl dated 1114 A.D.[10] The earliest dated epigraph in the NL was found at Vajrayoginī Sankhu and dated 1172 A.D. Later, during the Malla period (1200-1768), the NL flourished, both in inscriptions and in manuscripts. Vast collections of classical Newar literature are preserved in Nepal in the National Archives, the Kesher library and the Âśā Archives, whereas thousands of manuscripts from Nepal have been carried away by Western scholars and deposited in different libraries of the world.[11]

In the Malla period, the name Nepāl Bhāṣā was the common name for Newar language.The first use of the word Newar was found in an inscription dated 1654 A.D. of King Pratap Malla at Hanumandhoka (Malla 1991: 32). The Newar people call their language as Nepāl Bhāṣā (NB) till today.[12] In western philology, it is now more commonly known by the name 'Nevāri' (Lienhard 1992: 3). For centuries Nepal, the valley of Kathmandu, remained a melting pot for people of different races and different creeds:

"The race of the Newars is a mixed race, derived from Indian or Tibetan stocks, and their religion naturally presents a corresponding mixture of the Indian and Tibetan creeds." [Oldfield 1974(1880): 73]

From the religious point of view the majority of Newars follow Hinduism or Buddhism.[13] There are also some Muslim and Christian Newars in Nepal. Muslim Newars have long been living in Kathmandu and some speak in Newar language. The Christian Newars were forced in exile to India as soon as the Gorkha King Prithivinarayan Shah conquered Nepal in 1769. Since the Nepal valley was the center of trade, culture and civilization, the Gorkhā conquerors had to accommodate the Newars in the modern state of Nepal. At the same time a section of Newar traders virtually welcomed the Gorkha conquest and extended help to strengthen their hands[14]. However, many Newar inhabitants who fought against the Gorkha invaders had to suffer a great deal: they either received capital punishment or were forced into exile, while the people belonging to areas like Kirtipur and Patan were severely tortured.[15]

To a certain extent the Gorkhā rulers continued to support the culture and traditions of the Newars. By using the palace of the Malla Kings the Gorkha Kings also accepted Newar court culture and traditions. Many feasts and festivals of the Newars were given royal support as before. As traders the Newars received more opportunities to develop their profession under the Gorkha rule. Under the Gorkha rule the Newars spread all over the Kingdom and opened shops wherever they went. Many new Newar settlements appeared outside the valley of Nepal.[16] The latest population census of Nepal reports that Newars are spread in all the 75 districts of the country. However, in many districts their number is very low.[17]

Gradually the Newars started to lose their culture and language under the hands of the new rulers. The composition of Newar society is highly complicated due to divisions in castes and caste hierarchies. The division of castes was introduced among the Newars by the early King Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395 A.D.), (Vaidya Shrestha 1995: 180-90). According to Quigley (1987: 156), 'The single most crucial fact in this respect is the existence of their own autonomous caste system.' But after the 1769 Gurkha conquest the Newar caste hierarchy began to acquire a rigidity it had not had before as they were made subordinated to 'Parbatiyās' (Gellner 1995: 12).[18] Later, under the Gorkha rule, the first Rana prime minister Janga Bahadur introduced a legal code in 1854. In spite of their own caste system

the Newars were collectively labeled one jāt (caste) in the 1854 legal code, and their castes were lumped together with other Parbate castes. Other ethnic groups were also ranked under the same caste system.[19] The 1854 legal code gave the Newars their separate ethnic identity as a culturally and linguistically distinct group.

II. The Newars Under the Rana Rule (1846-1950)

a) The suppression of Newar language

During the early Rana period the Newars were able to get various administrative posts. Some were made tax collectors or acquired influential administrative posts. In 1861 one Newar called Siddhiman was offered the military title of colonel.[20] Yet the Newars were excluded from the political or decision-making posts as well as from the military service from the beginning of the Gorkha conquest in 1769. Before 1890 people in general had no opportunity to educate their children within Nepal. In the 1890s when the first school of Nepal, 'Durbar (Palace) School' was made accessible to the public, the Newars were among the first to make use of education (Malla 1992: 22). The Rana rulers were afraid of any kind of social awakening because their rule was not based on popular support. Even within the Rana families themselves sabotage, division and struggle for posts and power were obvious. The Valley of Kathmandu was closed to people from other parts of Nepal. So they realized that the real danger came from educated people of the Valley itself who might turn against their family rule. They were especially afraid of the people who were exposed to India and inspired by the freedom fighters, especially the Indian National Congress (1885) that opposed British colonialism.[21] Since the Ranas in Nepal were working closely with the British, they were warned by the British of possible revolts. So the Ranas considered the Newars as the inhabitants of the politically centralized state and as possible antagonists who might strangle them any time. Intellectuals, social reformers, political activists or religious reformers such as Theravāda Buddhists' or Ārya Samāj supporters were all regarded as threats to their autocratic rule.

Particularly with the rise of Chandra Shamsher as a prime minister (1901-1928) the suppression of Newar language and Newar intellectuals began. In 1905, he banned Newar language from the court of justice and administration. The language of the Newars began to be called 'Nevāri'[22] while the name 'Nepalī' used to designate the '*Khasakurā*' or Gorkhālī language.[23] In the later Rana period Newar intellectuals had to suffer heavily. The Rana regime was afraid of Newari and wanted to suppress it to stop any propaganda which might be communicated through that language against their minority rule. Interestingly, it was the same time when the Newar literary renaissance age began (1899-1940), marking a milestone in the history of Newar literature. Pandit Nisthananda Vajrachārya (1858-1935), Siddhidās Amatya (1867-1930), Jagat Sundar Malla (1882-1952), and Yogvir Singh Kansakār (1886-1941) were the four most eminent literary figures of this renaissance period.

In 1909, Nisthānanda, the eldest among them, was the first to publish a Newar book, entitled *Ekaviṃśati Prajñāpāramitā*, a Buddhist text with Sanskrit ślokas. In 1914, he printed another book, *Lalitavistara*, which deals with Buddha's life, many other Buddhist religious stories, and the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, a mythical story about the creation of the Nepal Valley. Though these works were based on religious stories, he lent his own originality to them. He brought his printing equipment from Calcutta and carried out all the printing work himself, including the laborious job of composition. Later it became difficult for him to print his books because the government imposed censorship on all publications. Thus, virtually all Newar publications were banned. So Nisthānanda had to print and distribute his books secretly.[24] His major contribution was to publish materials for the first time in the spoken language of Newar society, using the Devanāgari script to do it. Earlier Newar scholars had used old scripts and archaic language in writing and copying thousands of manuscripts without considering the changes in the language.

The most prolific writer of Newar literature during the renaissance period was Siddhidās Amātya. He wrote nearly fifty books, including a version of the *Rāmāyana*. His early writings deal mainly with religious and moral philosophy, and later he wrote many poems which reflect his ideas on social reforms. He advocated equal rights for women including access to education. He wrote against the caste discrimination which was then supported by the law. These were in

fact revolutionary writings at his time. He used to visit the gatherings of Ārya Samāj, whose members were active in social reform programmes.[25] There he encouraged young people to write in Newar language. An active young man within the *Ārya Samāj*, Jyanbahadur Newa, who wrote that he would never have become a writer in Nepal Bhasa if Siddhidas had not inspired him in those meetings (Newa 1967: 142-3). Many young students who were inspired by Siddhidas later became very famous writers of Nepal. One of the avowed adherents of the Ārya Samāj, Sukraraj Shastri, was hanged by the Rana government in 1941. He was the author of the first Newar grammar, Nepāl bhāṣā Vyākaraṇa (1928), and also wrote text books for children such as the Nepālbhāṣa Varṇamālā, and the Nepālbhāṣā Reader 1 and 2 (1933). Sukra Rāj was executed together with three other political activists; Gangalal Shrestha, Dharmabhakta Mathema and Dasharath Chand. They were all members of the People's Council (*Prajā Pariṣad*), which was an anti-Rana political organization backed by King Tribhuvan. But Sukraraj himself had no political connection with the Prajā Pariṣad and was punished because of his association with the *Ārya Samāj* and his social reform activities (Rose and Joshi 1966: 55). Except Dasharath Chand the remaining three were Newars. However, it would be wrong to conclude that they were executed because they were Newar nationalists.

In 1912, Jagat Sundar Malla, who advocated education in the mother tongue, opened a school in Newar language in Bhaktapur. He wrote English-Newar and Newar-English dictionaries, as well as textbooks, both in Newar and in Nepali. He was arrested and threatened with imprisonment if he would not stop his activities. He was the first to advocate education in the mother tongue. He had to pretend being mad to continue his work.[26]

In a similar manner Yogvir Singh, the youngest among the four literary figures, also suffered at the hands of the Ranas. He was arrested on several occasions, fined and tortured. His cloth shop became a gathering place for Newar as well as Nepali writers of those days.[27] When this was found out by the government, their writings were seized, and they were severely warned not to hold such meetings. In 1924, after he published one of his religious poems, he and his publisher were fined. In 1929, Yogvir and his friends sought permission to open a public library. All those who signed this petition were fined heavily.

The Rana regime was supported by the British colonial government. But due to increasing protests against their occupation of India, the British were themselves losing ground. So the fear of the Ranas was understandable. They were terrified by the growing nationalist movement in India. Since it encouraged the educated youngsters of Nepal, the Ranas wanted to stop such developments in Nepal at any cost. The suppression of the Newar writers was one expression of this fear. Therefore, another Rana prime minister, Juddha Shamsher, went further to suppress the Newar language. In 1933 he called a meeting of all known Newar writers and pressed them to stop writing. In 1940, when he learned that some young people were active in the Prajā Pariṣad (People's Council), with King Tribhuvan's support, he was infuriated. He arrested many people together with the members of the Council. They were social activists, teachers and writers. The four martyrs, mentioned above were also connected with this incident. On this occasion many Newar writers were also arrested and sent to jail for several years. This proved to be a gift to Newar literature because many of the political prisoners turned into writers. Though they had to work secretly, they wrote many books in prison, which made significant contributions to Newar literature (Malla 1978:17-18).

b) Literary Publications and Organizations

The Newar people living in India for study or business purposes were also active in the service of their mother tongue. They started establishing organizations and publications within India. In 1926, the first Newar literary organization the *Nepālbhāṣā Sāhitya Maṇḍala,* was founded in Calcutta by Dharmaditya Dharmachārya (1902-1963). He had also started publishing the first Newar language journal *Buddhadharma va Nepālbhāṣā* (1925-1928).[28] The Newar Buddhist monks who had been expelled from Nepal in 1944 for advocating Theravāda established *Dharmodaya Sabhā*, a Buddhist Religious Council in Sarnath and started publishing books in NL. Later it also started publishing a second journal *Dharmodaya* in 1946 (Kasa 1988, Joshi 1974). Cvasāpāsā, another Newar literary association, was also established in Calcutta (May 1950) and entered Nepal after the political changes in February 1951. Similarly, the brave 'Bir' history of Nepali literature began in India with the

publication of the weekly *Gorkhālī* (1915-16) from Banaras by Suryavikram Gyanwali and *Chandrikā* from Kurseong by Parasmani Pradhan.[29]

In 1945, together with some political prisoners, Chittadhar Hridaya and other Newar writers were released from prison by the Rana government. In the same year, Padma Samsher became prime minister, who was more liberal than his predecessors. In 1946, he allowed those Buddhist monks who had been expelled from Nepal to return. He also lifted the total ban on NL publications although he opened a separate department of censorship for publications in Newar language. Within three or four years, 115 books were cleared by the censorship as recorded by the-then censor officer Khadgaman Malla of the Newar department (Malla 1983: 58-81). But the liberalization process of the Rana regime started too late. In 1947, when India achieved independence, anti-Rana movements gained greater momentum in Nepal, In February 1951, the Nepali people along with the King Tribhuvan overthrew the Rana autocracy and a multi-party democracy was introduced in Nepal.

III. The 1951 Change and Newar Language Movement

In spite of the political changes of 1951, the Newar language did not gain enough status. It did not achieve the right to be used in the court of justice or in the administration. Newars still lost the importance of their language under the so-called democracy. It was a major language spoken in the Valley as well as the language of the highly educated community of Nepal. As a language of the cultural center and the center of power, it was the language of wider communication and also served as a lingua franca. It was gradually loosing such status under the new system.

In January 1951, just before the fall of the Ranas, 'Democracy Radio Nepal' (Prajātantra Radio Nepal) started an anti-Rana propaganda. It broadcast news in Nepali, Newar and Hindi languages. Shortly after the 1951 change, many public schools were opened for common people. Unfortunately, in those schools Newar language was not recognized as a medium of instruction. It was only taught as an optional subject in the schools. The *Nepāl Rāṭriya Vidhyāpitha*, a non-governmental organization which took the initiative in the field of education in the public sector recognized NL as an alternative medium in those schools and colleges which were run by them. This compelled Newar scholars to take responsibilities to produce educational materials in NL.

On the 3rd of March, 1951, the Council of Newar Language (*Nepāl Bhāṣā Pariṣad*), was formed by Newar scholars, which began to publish educational materials and literary books. Simultaneously, other Newar organizations also started to work in similar fields. They enjoyed more freedom than earlier to work for their mother tongue. During this period, many new publications in NL appeared and new organizations were established. The first Newar daily newspaper and literary magazines appeared during this period.

However, in 1956, the interim government of K.I. Singh declared Nepali to be the only language of instruction in schools at the cost of all other languages of Nepal. This decision inspired some protests in the Tarai (southern belt of Nepal) in favor of the Hindi language (Rose and Joshi 1966: 202) but no protest was made by the Newars. The 1959 constitution of Nepal declared Nepali to be the national language of Nepal. The ten years of democracy in Nepal produced a chaotic situation. Allegations among the political parties and counter-allegations, and sometimes even within one party, lead to dramatic divisions. Their aims were to hold on to power or to capture power. As a result, the people were getting fed up with politics. The first general elections took place in 1959, and gave the Nepali Congress Party a massive victory. But the internal clashes within the members of the ruling party rapidly increased. In 1961, it ended with banning all political parties by King Mahendra.

Propagating the disadvantages of the multi-party system, King Mahendra introduced the partyless Panchayat System in Nepal and freedom of expression was limited. As a detrimental blow to all other languages, religions and ethnic groups, he strongly imposed a "one nation, one language and one religion" policy in favour of the Nepali language, the Brahmins and Chhetri (Khasa) community, and the Hindu religion. Therefore, together with all other languages of Nepal, NL again suffered a great setback under this chauvinism. In 1965, Radio Nepal stopped broadcasting NL and Hindi news. It gave rise to protests from the literary circles. Various Newar literary and cultural organizations of the Valley organized protest literary programmes every year, many Newar writers were again arrested and tortured. But the protests were limited to the literary elites who were

protests from the literary circles. Various Newar literary and cultural organizations of the Valley organized protest literary programmes every year, many Newar writers were again arrested and tortured. But the protests were limited to the literary elites who were unable to gain support from the common people. Even within the literary circle divisions emerged. So the protest programmes subsided without any remarkable achievement. However these activities inspired many youths, most of whom are still working for cause of language rights.

Publication became more difficult with the imposition of the censorship which intended to prevent any kind of publication against the Panchayat System. For many years no new Newar journals or newspapers were allowed to publish. In 1971, the New Education Plan was introduced which pushed Newar language further back by forcing children to make a choice between language groups (including NL) or science and vocational subjects.

Nevertheless, Newar intellectuals were trying to encourage loyalty to their mother tongue through various literary and cultural organizations. Organizing weekly, monthly or yearly literary programmes, celebrating the birthdays of the late Newar writers, or observing New Years' day[30]. They actively promoted the language sentiment. Such activities gradually spread from the Kathmandu Valley to many other small and big Newar towns. In a small town like Sankhu, for example, where no literary association existed till the early 1960s, a single person, poet Girija Prasad Joshi (1939-1987), inspired literary and cultural movements. He stimulated many young people to dedicate themselves to the cause of the Newar language. Such literary activities spread to many other Newar settlements in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, motivating many youngsters to work for the promotion of Newar language.

IV. The Formation of *Nepāl Bhāṣā Maṃkā Khalah* (The Association of Newar Speakers)

The quotation of the Newar poet Siddidas Amatya *Bhāṣā Mvāsā Jāti Mvāi* (If the language survives, the nation will survive) is often quoted in Newar programmes. However, it took many years for the Newar elites to realize the necessity to unite themselves ethnically. The necessity of Newar unity for the sake of their language and their nation (*jāti*) was repeatedly emphasized by literary elites, but ordinary Newars were not convinced. Even in a small town like Sankhu, where all inhabitants are Newars, they are not united among themselves. Social division is prevalent because of the traditional caste structure, as well as the feeling of *chvay kvay*, a division between the upper (northern) and lower (southern) half of the town.

In 1979, as a consequences of students' movement, King Birendra announced a political referendum on whether to retain the partyless Panchayat System with certain reforms, or to reintroduce the multi-party system. In April 1979, a year prior to the referendum, all restrictions against public gatherings and meetings were lifted. This new situation allowed the Newars to organize themselves in a new way for the cause of their language and national identity. In this regard the formation of the Association of Newar Speakers (*Nepālbhāṣā Maṃkāh Khalah*) in August 1979 was a historical step. It was the first time that the Newars expressed themselves in a collective manner and appealed broadly to other Newars about the necessity to obtain rights for their language, cultures and nationality from the state. They categorically rejected the "one language-one nation"policy of the government and urged equal rights to all languages and nationalities of Nepal. Their demands included education in the mother tongue to children, rights for all languages to be used in the court of justice and in administration, access for all languages to the government media, and recognition of the culture of all nationalities.[31]

In the same year, in October/November 1979 the Association organized a big New Year's rally in Kathmandu. The New Year's day was also celebrated in Patan, Bhaktapur and other Newar towns. A motorcycle rally which was organized to observe the New Year's day went outside the Valley through different Newar settlements. In the following years the New Year's day continued to be celebrated in this manner. This tradition was copied by the Newars of other places. Consequently, many Newar settlements formed their own ethnic organizations.

In the 1980 referendum the party less Panchayat System won against the multi-party system and the old language policy continued. No changes took place in favor of the various nationalities and languages. Parties were once again banned and press freedom controlled. However, it became impossible for the government to

go back to the situation preceding the referendum. Parties were allowed to function using the epithet "banned" before their names. Likewise, the Nepalese press tried to continue the freedom which it had acquired during the referendum period. In 1982, the NL weekly '*Ināp*' launched its publication in Kathmandu.[32] It played a vital role in developing language awareness among the Newars. Its circulation was not limited to the Kathmandu Valley but also reached many other Newar towns outside the valley.

The Association of Newar Speakers assumed a greater importance, but it was not possible to bring organizations outside Kathmandu district under one umbrella. In 1986, the chairman of the Association of Newar Speakers, Padmaratna Tuladhar stood for the *Rāṣtriyat Pancāyat* (National Assembly) as a multi-party supporter, but he was labeled more as a Newar candidate. Because of his statements in favor of the multi-party system and ethnic rights in the *Rāṣtriyat Pancāyat*, he rapidly gained enormous popularity. This inspired other ethnic groups of Nepal to establish their own ethnic organizations. In 1986, the Forum for the Rights of All Nationalities (*Sarvajātiya Adhikāra Maṃcha*) emerged as a consequence of the joint efforts of different nationalities to take a collective stand for their equal right. To a certain extend this Association was able to spread ethnic awareness, however, it failed to bring the different ethnic groups under one umbrella. It gradually became inactive. .

V. The Emergence of *Nevāh De Dabū*, A National Forum of Newars

It was necessary for Newars to arrive at a consensus for a national organization. In February 1991, *Nepālbhāṣā Pariṣad* (The Council of Newar Language) held a two-day conference on the Newar nationality and language.[33] It tried to bring representatives from different districts of Nepal and discussed about the government statistics on the Newars as well as a necessity of a Newar national organization. Besides the Council, *Cvasāpāsā* was functioning as an academy of Newar literature, and have been publishing many books. With the co-operation of the Toyota Foundation, Japan, it has translated many Japanese as well as South Asian literary works into NL, Nepali and Maithili. The most important contribution of *Cvasāpāsā* is the *Āśā Archives*, where more than six thousands old manuscripts have been collected and made accessible to all scholars interested in Nepalese history, art, culture, religions, rituals and traditions.[34] In addition to these academic institutions Newar intellectuals founded their own academy, the *Nepālbhāṣā Academy* in 1992. The urgency of the time was not only inspired by such city-centred scholarly associations; the new generation of Newar society reacted enthusiastically to create a national Newar organization.

In October 1992, the second convention of the Association of Newar Speakers was held in Kathmandu, but it became controversial because of the Communist party of Nepal United Marxist Leninist (CPN UML) preponderance.[35] The Association lost credibility because the Newars wanted such organizations to be free from party politics. This resulted in the establishment in 1993 of another organization in Kathmandu, the Newar Trust (*Nevāū Guthi*), with the aim to build a mass-based ethnic organization. The Trust established branches in many places, but it was again divided into two factions in 1996. Internal divisions developed in the Trust about the location of its office and so there developed a political conflict.[36] Both factions held their central conventions separately in July 1996, thus making it difficult for the trust to maintain itself as a mass-based Newar organization.

The Association of Newar Speakers, on the other hand, had long been trying to build a consensus among the Newars to establish a national organization. In 1992, when its second convention was held in Kathmandu, one of its main targets was to hold a Newar gathering to form a national organization. In December 1994, it held a two-day seminar to discuss the basic requirements for a national convention of the Newars. As a result, they succeeded in forming an ad hoc committee to hold the national convention. Soon after that, on September 1-2, 1995, the first convention of the Newars took place in Kathmandu. On the second day of the convention they proclaimed *Nevāh De Dabū*, the National Forum of the Newars. The participants from various districts also suggested that the organization be politically neutral. So, they selected a new figure, Bhaktidas Shrestha, a Buddhist Newar without political affiliations, as chairman.[37] Five vice chairmen representing each of the five development

regions of Nepal

A Question of Ethnicity in Nepal

The issue of minorities and their rights was ignored or suppressed during the thirty years of *Panchāyat rule* (1961-1990). Soon after the 1990 political change which re-introduced multi-party system in Nepal, the voice of minorities became audible. Not only the Newars but also many other ethnic groups of Nepal began to organize themselves to echieve equal rights.

In 1990, the joint effort of different minority groups resulted in a new forum called *Nepal Janajāti Māhāsamgha* (Federation of the Nationalities of Nepal), which began with the participation of eighteen nationalities (Bhattachan 1995: 7). The membership of the nationalities increased in the subsequent years. The Federation came out boldly in favor of the minorities. In November 1990, Nepal adopted a new constitution. The new constitution again introduced a multi-party system, and appeared to have a multinational and even a multilingual nature, yet the Nepali language remained the "*Rāstra bhāsā*" "national language" for official use, while other languages were recognized as "*Rātriya bhāsā*" "languages of the nation'" on the basis of the article 6 (1) and (2) of the constitution. The Article 18 (1) states that all communities living in the Kingdom have the right to preserve and promote their languages, scripts and cultures. Article 18 (2) gives a right to educate children in their mother tongue up to the primary level.[38] As a gesture, the government-owned Radio Nepal allocated 5 minutes to each of the 12 languages in broadcasting its news.

Nepal is not large in land area (spread over 147,181 square kilometers) but it has many ethnic and tribal groups. The 1991 census lists 60 ethnic and caste groups, but this list is not complete: to a certain extent the list is confusing because castes and nationalities are lumped together, as Gurung (1995: 1-2) has pointed out. As a small state with so many ethnic groups it is not a simple task for Nepal to tackle the rising phenomenon of ethnicity. To develop a mutual understanding among different groups in a multi-ethnic country like Nepal, is a truly difficult task. At present, most of the different ethnic groups of Nepal feel that they are dominated by Khas language and cultural chauvinism. This can only lead to undesirable hostilities.[39] Already from the eastern Nepal one group of Limbus have raised hateful slogans against the Brahmins "*chuchcho nākha kātaum*" (Slaughter the pointed noses). What will be the consequesnce if such ethnical hatred is fueled continuously.

The minority groups of Nepal have presented their demands in different ways. However, the nature of their demands is not different in principle. As an example we may consider demands presented by Dr. M.M. Shrestha, the coordinator of the *Nevāh Ratriya Āndolan Samanvay Samiti* (The Newars' National Movement Coordination Committee),[40] which are considered most radical in their content:

1.Right of autonomy for all nationalities in those areas where they have population density.

2. A change in the present Upper House of Parliament into a House of Nationalities with equal elected representatives from all small or big national, ethnic or tribal groups` irrespective of their number; with this institution having the same power as the House of Representatives.

3.1.To replace the article in the constitution giving special status to one language, by an article giving equal rights to all languages of Nepal.

3.2.To encourage the use of all languages for communication by the central government.

3.3. The right to use all languages in the courts of justice and administration at both the local and central levels.

4. To make education in the mother tongues available from the lower to the highest level.

Parsuram Tamang, the general secretary of the Federation of Nationalities of Nepal (*Janajāti Mahāsamgha*) has brought forward similar demands for the Tamangs (Tamang 1992:25).[41] There are more radical organizations like Sadbhāvanā Party (Goodwill Party) of the Tarai or The National Party of the Nationalities (*Rātriya Janajāti Party*) whose demand is to make Nepal a federal state of different nationalities (Bhattachan 1995: 131-2). The most radical demands came from The All Nepal Nationalities' Organization (*Akhil Nepāl Janajāti Samgha)*, whose demand includes secession right for all nationalities of Nepal.[42]

The right of secession and the right of autonomy are in great debate among the intellectuals of Nepal at present. From practical point of view, the right of secession is the most extreme demand to be accomplished in the present day Nepal. Because Nepal

is physically small country situated between China and India, the territorial disintegration of this country can lead to chaos. To grant autonomy to various ethnic groups may be more practical in Nepal, in order to preserve their languages and cultures.[43] However, it is not possible within present demarcations of districts and villages, which randomly divides minorities into several fragments within their own territories.

On the present context it will be interesting to look at views of the different political parties of Nepal. The Nepali Congress, a major party, thinks that it is destructive to talk about the problem of nationalities in Nepal, whereas a rightist party *Rāstriya Prajātantra Party*, Tarai based *Sadbhāvanā Party* as well as CPN (UML), talk about the rights of nationalities and languages of Nepal, but they have failed to implement their programmes on nationalities and languages when they were in power.[44] Recently the CPN (UML) has *been split* into two factions; the faction with majority is carrying same name while the minority faction has named themselves CPN (ML). So far no drastic change in these two parties is expected pertaining to the languages and ethnicity policies. Small Communist Parties such as the CPN (Maśāl), CPN (MLM), CPN (Maoist) and Nepali Communist League demand equal rights and autonomy for all nationalities. The CPN (Maoist) even presented radical demands that include the secession right for all nationalities.[45] The All Nepal Nationalities Organization ·(*Akhil Nepāl Janajāti Saṃgha*) emerged as a sister organization of CPN (Maoist), which is the first of its kind. Since the Nepalese people from different nationalities are divided into as many factions as there are political parties, it is very difficult to predict where this trend will lead them. The existing Political parties of Nepal have not yet been able to forward any practical program to upbring the nationalities (*janajāti*) of Nepal. *Janajāti* people think that the slogans presented in favor of nationalities by the various political parties are not sincere. It is because the leadership of the most political parties of Nepal are in the hands of Brahmin-Khetris, the dominant group of Nepal who speak Nepali.

In the May 1997 local elections, the CPN (UML), which swept a two-third majority in Kathmandu Metropolis, and won the post of both mayor and deputy mayor, and soon promised to make Newar language as an official language of the Municipality. According to their promise the board of Kathmandu Municipality passed a resolution and declared Nepal Bhasha (NB) as the language of the Municipality on 24 July 1997, thus introducing NB in Kathmandu Municipality after more than three decades.[46] This example inspired other municipalities outside the Valley, like Rajbiraj and Dhanusha Municipalities and District Development Committees to introduce Maithili language. At the same time, Nepali speakers in Kathmandu have filed a petition in the Supreme Court against the making the NB a medium language in Kathmandu Metropolis,[47] and the Supreme Court issued a stay order to Kathmandu Metropolis, as well as Rajbiraj and Dhanusha Municipalities and District Development Committees to refrain from using local languages for official purposes on the 18th March 1998.[48] The Newars have already started their reaction against the order by organizing an action Committee, Nepālbhāṣā Saṃgharsa Samiti. In the similar manner, the Mathili speaking people are in action against the order. They also have launched a joint action by forming an "All Languages Action Committee of Nepal" against the Supreme Court order. We have yet to see what will be the consequences of Supreme court verdict which goes in the in favor of the dominant language, but against other national languages.

The Problems of Newar Ethnicity

With the creation of the National Forum of the Newars, the Newars have shown their eagerness to present themselves as a separate ethnic group or a nation within the modern state of Nepal, a country presenting itself as a single nation-state only during the last few decades.[49] It is important to realize that for the Newars, unlike other nationalities of Nepal, it is not an easy task to unite and present themselves as an ethnic group. The caste system that once was an essential component of Newar society and culture is rapidly losing its traditional cohesion, particularly the so called low-caste people, whose duties are still very important in various festivals as well as in life cycle and death rituals, but who are nowadays unwilling to continue their tasks. The Newars are known for their rich culture, and in most festivals many castes participate and each caste has to fulfill its specific duty.[50] During the past decades cities like Kathmandu and even smaller towns such as Sankhu have lost many *guthis* (trusts)

which had to fulfill important duties in different festivals. One of the main factors is economy. As soon as the land reform program of 1964, was implemented, the many socio-religious associations (*guthis*) responsible for running such festivals, have partly or completely lost their traditional income sources. Their major income used to come from land endowments, but the land reform act abolished their authority over the tenants. In the mean time the globalization of culture has popularized modern luxuries like the television, video, car, motorcycle, concrete buildings and so on. Such commodities have become status symbols for the elite Newars, and the new generations became more interested in Western pop culture and Indian cinemas than in their own music and culture.

In 1951, as soon as the Rana family rule ended in Nepal, the valley of Kathmandu, the principal homeland of the Newars, was opened for the first time to the people from other parts of Nepal and to the outsiders. Since then, the migration of people into the valley from other parts of Nepal, and from North India (mainly from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh), has continued. These migrants might displace the Newars from their own land very soon. The influx of people from all over Nepal and North India, the growth of countless concrete buildings on the fertile land of the Valley, and the sharp increase in highly polluting motor vehicles continue to threathen the art, culture or health of Kathmandu. As K.P. Malla observes:

> "With his social and cultural fabric of life slowly being destroyed, the average middle-class Newar of Kathmandu today feels like the displaced Nawabs of Lucknow after the loot" (1992: 24).

The trend of speaking Nepali in Newar houses already started during the Rana period. First it was adopted by members of the Newar elites who used to serve the Rana palaces. After the downfall of the Ranas in 1951 more public schools with Nepali as the medium of instruction were opened. High and middle class Newar parents were more inclined to speak Nepali with their children at the cost of their own mother tongue. They preferred to forsake their language in order to obtain better job opportunities in government service. The English language has also captured the attention of the Nepalese including the Newars. Newar parents are eager to send their children to so-called English boarding schools which are mushrooming in most of the cities of Nepal nowadays. In 1991, when the first Newar medium school was opened, only a few Newar parents chose to send their children to this school. Aggravating the fact that the most Newar leaders who have been engaged in the Newar language and national movement did not send their children to the first Newar medium school either.[51]

For other reasons, the Newars outside the Kathmandu Valley, especially the new generations, have lost their ancestors' language. In most cases those Newars can be recognized only by their family or caste names. However, for a decade or so, the Newars outside the valley have been attracted towards their past glory and the Newar language. Some Newars living in many places outside the valley are seeking to learn the Newar language by requesting for teachers from the Valley. In the past few years the Association of the Newar Speakers (*Nepālbhāṣā Maṃkāh Khalah*) has sent teachers to various places. Even from Sikkim, Newar people have made contact with the Association to acquire Newar teachers and school textbooks. The Newars of India organized a gathering in Kalimpong for the first time on December 2 and 3, 1995.[52] Similarly, the International Nepal Bhasa Sevā Samiti was formed in the USA to promote Newar studies around the world.

In September 1995, when the National Forum of the Newars was founded it was joined by participants from 38 districts. Those who participated have formed local organizations in their areas. All these organizations represent without any caste bias and try to associate with all Newar castes including the formally untouchable *Poḍe* caste. At the same time there are some caste-based organizations within Newar society. In Kathmandu the Vajrāchāryas (the Buddhist priestly caste), Uray (the Merchant castes like Tulādhar and Kansākār), Mānandhar (Oil pressers), Kapāli (Tailor and Musicians), Khaḍgi (Butchers), Poḍe (Sweepers), Citrakār (painters), as well as Tandukār have their caste foundations for many years. In 1993 the biggest caste group in Newar society, the Jyāpus, the farmers of the Valley, established the Big Foundation of the Jyāpus (*Jyāpu Mahā Guthi*). At present, these caste associations are playing a supportive role in forming Newar unity. The Big Trust of the Jyāpus in particular, is an achievement in itself, because in the past farmers had been kept aloof from the activities launched by the Newar elites. Unfortunately, in 1997 the big foundation of the Jyāpus (*Jyāpu Mahā Guthi*) split into two factions. What the role of these caste-based organizations will be in the future is unpredictable since

the traditional hierarchical order of castes is no longer appreciated by the depressed caste groups. Whether those caste-bound associations seek their separate identity or will become the part of the Newar ethnic movement is not yet clear.

In the recent past, Newar people have been debating to create a new party of their own. If we read two Nepal Bhasa dailies Sandhyā Times and Viśvabhumī newspapers over the past years, we find a number of articles which indicate this trend. Newar leaders such as Malla K. Sunder, Keshavman Shakya and Nareshbir Shakya were advocating for the formation of a Newar ethnic party. How effective an ethnically-based party will be, is very difficult to assess because even a prominent Newar leader like Padmaratna Tuladhar is not in favor of such a party. From the viewpoint of present politics, not only the Newars but all other ethnic groups are divided into as many factions as there are political parties. Shortly before the local elections in 1997, the *Nevāh Rātriya Āndolan Samanvaya Samiti* (The Newar National Movement Coordination Committee) emerged. It aimed at organizing the Newars politically and ethnically to fight for equal rights of their language and nation. However, its attempt to file ethnically motivated candidates in the Kathmandu Valley during the 1997 local elections did not succeed. It was found that the Newar politicians preferred to contest the election according to their political affiliations rather than in ethnic terms.

Challenges to Newar Ethnicity

Before the Gorkha conquest, the Valley of Nepal was a melting pot for the migrants of the people from the north and south. The culture, language, religions, rituals and traditions of the valley had successfully been assimilating people who had been migrating into the Valley for centuries. As a consequence of the Gorkha conquest the assimilation process stopped. Especially after the proclamation of the 1854 legal code, the Newars of the Valley were subordinated to the ruling ethnic group, the Parbates.

However, the rise of ethnic awareness among the Newars is a relatively new phenomenon. During the Newar language movement of the renaissance period (1899-1940) the writers did not yet perceive a Newar ethnicity. The writers of those days did not promote Newar nationalism as such. Many Newars used to write not only in Newar language but also in Nepali. Many contemporary Newar and Nepali writers also used to gather at the same place, as is clear by the evidence of Yogvir's cloth shop.[53] The necessity of social reforms mainly motivated Newar writers of those days. With a few exceptions,[54] their writings were a far cry from the modern call for ethnic awareness. Since education was beyond the reach of the general public, educated people with the ability to read literature were low. Yet the Rana government was frightened especially by the NL writings, but not so much by writings in other languages. They were afraid of Newar writers because this language was the language of the majority the Valley. Their fear was political and not based on the danger of a language movement or ethnic uprisings. They suppressed Newar writers to silence the vocal population of the Kathmandu Valley because they knew that if the people of the Valley would turn against their tyrannical rule, it would become impossible for them to remain in power. For the same reason, the Rana government granted privileges to the Newars by appointing them to administrative, judicial and other posts. These cautious concessions were issued in order to please the Newars so that they would support the Ranas.

As soon as the Rana government adopted a liberal policy towards NL publications in 1946, the Newar writers were satisfied. When the 1951 political change gave them more freedom to write and publish books, they were more pleased. Against this background, the fact that Nepali alone was declared the National language of Nepal it is puzzling that in 1959 is rather puzzling. Later the Panchayat System followed the same monolithic policy for 30 years by ignoring the existence of all other languages of Nepal. The continuous discrimination by the State pushed the Newar language (NL) from the position of the most important language of the country to a minor one. In spite of the continuous negligence from the State, Newar people have not shown any violent reaction throughout history. The literary activities of several decades assumed an ethnic shape only at the beginning of the 1980s. It took the Newars 15 more years to create 'The National Forum of the Newars' (*Nevāh De Dabū* 1995). The National Forum still has to gain unanimous support from all Newars. When the preparation for the formation of The National Forum was in progress, one group of Newars, politically close to the Nepali Congress, formed the *Prajātāntrik Nepāl Bhāṣā*

Khalaů (The Association of Democratic Newars) led by Hitkarvir Sing Kansakar, another well known figure in the Newar language movement. They charged the supposed national organization of being controlled by the left, and expressed accusation that the draft constitution of the proposed national organization was undemocratic because it was written to fulfill the interests of left-inclined Newars.[55]

The national convention of the Newars was composed of the representatives from various Newar settlements having all sorts of political background. The leaders of the convention claim that the newly formed 'The National Forum of the Newars' should not be controlled by any politicians. In 1996, the first regional meeting of the executive body took place in Jhapa, eastern Nepal. The final version of the constitution of The National Forum was also passed on the occasion. Different political leaders, including a Newar Nepali Congress leader like Ramhari Joshi participated. The members of the Democratic Newars Association have not yet shown any interest in joining The National Forum. Instead they are trying to create their own separate branches all over the country to create a parallel national organization. In a similar manner *Nevāh Guthi* and *Nepāl Nevār Samāj* (The Newar Society of Nepal) are also busy in their own way to organize the Newars of the country under their own umbrellas. Whether all these Newars organizations can co-operate with each other or they are leading the Newar national movement into several fragments is another important question of today.

As an ethnic Newar national organization, 'The National Forum of the Newars' must be able to keep equal distance from all political parties. In practice this is the most challenging job for the Newar nationalists; their success or failure depends on it. Examining the differences in political views among the Newar leaders to the inevitable conclusion that an ethnic political party is unlikely to be formed in the short run. It is because many Newars are occupying higher and lower posts in almost all big and small political parties of Nepal. Therefore, there is no political advantage in forming a Newar political party in the near future. Another major challenge for Newar nationalism is the caste system, which has given the Newars a distinct identity. Since the 1964 legal code has made all castes of Nepal equal before the law, the caste system within Newar society has lost some of its traditional importances. The caste system in Newar society is one of the most delicate phenomena. On the one hand, caste co-operation is essential for the continuation of Newar cultural tradition, while, on the other hand, the hierarchical order of the traditional caste system divides them heavily. During the celebration of traditional feasts, festivals, and rituals, caste-based duties are still very important. In Sankhu, the butcher caste that plays music during funeral processions stopped their duties; since then there is no music in the funeral processions, because it is impossible to replace them by any other caste. Nowadays, in growing metropolitan cities like Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur the traditional value of caste does not count very much, but in a small town like Sankhu caste discrimination are still going on. Therefore, the so-called lowest caste, the Poḍe, and other low caste groups such as *Nāy* and *Jogī*, are still suffering from discrimination. However, from the so-called highest caste (Newar Brahmins) to the so-called lowest caste (Poḍe) all are identified as Newars, because of their culture and language. Still it is a hard task to unite them for the cause of Newar nationalism because their culture is not based on equality among the various castes. Whether they will be able to develop the feeling of equality among all castes or not is a vital question today. At present all the Newar nationalist organizations are busy trying to accommodate members in their organizations without caste bias. However, the abolition of caste hierarchy in Newar society is not an easy task. At the same time, the Valley of Kathmandu is no longer the homeland of the Newars. People migrated from all over Nepal and India have made them a minority in their traditional homeland. The loss of traditional trade areas as well as that of traditional land ownership have also disrupted Newar society. The Newars, who once were the masters of trade, are no longer in that position. They are being gradually displaced by the Indian merchants, and, now by the intervention of the so-called free market economy, Newars traders are losing even more than before. The competition for bread and butter to survive hardly allows them to foster their traditional values. During the past two centuries the Newars of the Valley have also migrated extensively to other parts of the country and beyond. In most areas they need to mix with other ethnic groups and have lost contact with the center, and have forgotten their language and culture. To inspire all these Newars with nationalistic feeling is more or less impracticable. The growing intrusions of foreign cultures and languages in the Newar society might in

the long run eliminate both their language and culture. To overcome these challenges the Newar leaders have not yet made any far-sighted plans and policies.

Conclusion

From the above discussions it becomes clear that the unity of the Newars is being summoned more from their language than from any other factors. The formulation of their unity has much more to do for the cause of the language rights than ethnic strife. The Newars' endeavor to form a national organization gained momentum only because the state has continuously been neglecting their language. Still the Newars have a long way to go for consolidating an unanimous Newar organization. In Nepal, after Maithili; Nepal Bhasa is another language which has long tradition of literature and which can be another official language in the Kathmandu Valley. The Newars' attempt to unite ethnically may not be necessary, if Newar language is being made again another official language of the Kathmandu Valley, so that the Newars can use their language in court, administration of the Valley as well as in education. The recent order of the Supreme Court to refrain from using NB in Kathmandu Metropolis, and Maithili from Rajbiraj and Dhanusha Municipalities and District Development Committees is not a good example rather it clearly indicates the sole patronization of Nepali language against all other languages of Nepal. These circumstances can only provoke non-Nepali speaking people, which ultimately may turn very costly to Nepal.

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Notes

1 According to the population census of Nepal 1991. The census report also shows that the different ethnic groups of Nepal do no longer maintain their mother tongues. The census reports are criticized however by many Nepalese and foreign scholars for not presenting accurate data. See His Majesty's Government 1995 Statistical Year Book of Nepal 1995. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics. See pp. 26-40 for the latest data of the various ethnic groups of Nepal. For the criticism on the CBS data by various scholars see Nepal Vol. 39 no. 58 1991.

2 Many songs written by the Shah kings are collected in Tuladhar 1981. Pulāṃgu Mya (old songs).

3 Mahāsatvapākhyān, a three act play written by King Rajendra, has been published in 1967.

4 Janaklal Vaidya has written that the prohibition of Newar from the court was already declared in 1854 A.D., but K.P. Malla remarks that the document mentioned by Vaidya unfortunately cannot be traced. He confirms Chittadhar 'Hridaya's statement about the 1905 ban. See Hridaya, C. 1982 *Jhigu Sāhitya*. Kathmandu: Nepalbhāṣā Pariṣad p.7, and Malla, K.P. 1978. Bibliography of Nepalbhāṣā. Kathmandu: *Layatādabu*. p. 5 It is more likely that Jangabahadur may have orally ordered such measures and no written documents were kept. Acarya Narendradev mentions in his book *Baudha Dharma Darśan* (1956) (Buddhist Religious Philosophy) the seizing of old texts from monastery by the Prime-Minister Janga Bahadur. He further writes a British residential doctor in Kathmandu, (Daniel?) Wright, collected and presented those books to Cambridge University, which were seized from the monastery, and thrown out on the street by Jangabahadur. See [Acharya 1994 (1956): 123]. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas, see also (Shrestha 1990: 123).

5 See Lienhard 1992(1972). The Songs of Nepal An Anthology of Nevār Folk songs and Hymns. Delhi: Motilal Banaridas p. 4.

6 See Acarya, B. 1953. "*Nepāl Nevār and Nevār Bhāṣā*" Nepāl Saṃskritic Pariṣad 1(1): 1-16. See also Mali, I. 1978. "*Nepālbhāṣāyā Chuṃ Dasu*" (Some Examples of Newar Language) in his book *Jhīgu Bhay: Jhigu Khamgva* pp. 14-18.

7 For detailed discussion on the word Nepāl see Malla, K.P. 1983a. "Nepal Archaeology of the Word" Nepal Heritage Society Souvenir PATA Nepal Conference. pp. 63-69.

8 Vajracharya, D.V. and K.P Malla. 1985. The *Gopālarājavaṃśāvali* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. pp 121-122.

9 See Malla, K.P.1983b. "River Names of the Nepal valley: A Study in cultural Annexation." Contributions to Nepalese Studies, 10 (1-2): 57-68.

10 K.P. Malla (1990: 15-26) has analysed the palm leaf from the linguistic point of view.

11 See Malla, Classical Newar Literature A Sketch 1982. See also Vaidya and Kaṃsakār A Descriptive Catalog of Selected Manuscripts 1991

12 See Shakya 1997 for "In Naming a Language" a paper presented at the 3rd Himalayan Language Symposium, UC Santa Barbara, the USA.

13 Many scholars have discussed this subject. See Doherty (1978: 434), van Kooij Religion in Nepal 1978, Gellner Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest. Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual 1996.

14 See D. Quigley "Ethnicity Without Nationalism. The Newars of Nepal." Archive European Sociology. xxviii, 1987: 52-170

15 Kirkpatrick has reprinted extract from Father Giuseppe's "Account of Nepal", which gives eye witness reports of the barbarous acts of the Gorkha invaders upon the Newars after their victory over Nepal. See Kirkpatrick 1975(1811): 380-86, Appendix. No. III. However, 20th century Nepali historiographers such as B. Acarya, D.R. Regmi, S. Gyawali dismiss such incidents. But Stiller (1989: 33-3) argues their rejections are not based on evidence and confirms Giuseppe's account. See also Pradhan 1991: 104-5.

16 Newar settlements like Dolakha already existed outside the Valley from the early Malla period, but extensive migration of the Newars began after the 1769 Gorkha conquest. See Gellner 1986: 102; Lewis and Shakya "Contribution to the History of Nepal: Eastern Newar Diaspora Settlements." CNS 15:1, 1988: 25-65.

17 See Population Census 1991, vol. 1, Part VII, Table 25 (1993).

18 See also Gellner (1986) for "Language, Caste Religion and Territory:Newar identity ancient and modern." See Rosser. C. 1979 (1966) for "Social Mobility in the Newar Caste system." In C.von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.) Caste & Kin in Nepal, India & CeylonAnthropological Studies in Hindu-Buddhist Contact Zones. New Delhi: East-West Publications, 68-139.

19 For a detailed analysis of the 1854 legal code of Nepal see Hofer (1979). The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal. A study of the Muluki Ain of 1854. Innsbruck: Universitatsverlag Wagner

20 J. Whelpton has discussed in his book about the appointments of Newars in various influential administrative posts. See Whelpton 1991:165,203, 228.

21 In December 1885, when the first meeting of the Indian National Congress took place in Bombay only seventy delegates participated. By 1900 the Congress had grown into a position of constitutional opposition to the Government. See Percival, S. 1970 (1960). A History of India. Middlesex:Penguin Books, pp. 170-1.

22.Shakya(1997) claims that this is an inappropriate term.

23 The name 'Nepali ' was first made popular outside Nepal. Only in the 1930s the rulers of the country recognized it. See Burghart 1996: 253, see also Pradhan 1991: 203.

24 For detail see Hridaya 1982: 25-36, see also Tamot 1985.

25 Āryasamāj is a Hindu reform movement based on Vedanta philosophy. It was established by Svāmi Dayananda Saraswati in India in 1875 (Percival 1970: 164). In Nepal it was established by Madhavraj Joshi in 1920.

26 For more detail see Hridaya 1982: 83-92, Lakaul 1988, Piwaju and Malla 1984.

27 Nepāli poets like Lekhnath Paudyal, Sambhuprasad, Chakrapani Chalise, Laksmiprasad Devakota used to gather in his shop. All of them later became prominent literary figures in Nepali literature. See (Hridaya 1982: 95).

28 For detail on Dharmaditya see Lakaul 1984:19-42.

29 For "Brave 'Bir' History of Nepali Literature." see Onta 1996; 37-76.

30 See (Shrestha 1995: 448-456) for "Newar Journalism Past present and Future

31 See *Bhintunā Pau*, 1993 a souvenir published by Nepālbhāṣā Maṃkāh Khalah (NMK), the Association of Newar Speakers

32 See (Shrestha 1995: 448-456) for "Newar Journalism Past present and Future

33 "The papers and discussions presented at the conference are collected in Nepāl 1991, 39: 58.

34 See Vaidya and Kasā 1991, also Sakya 1996.

35 The chairman of the Association P. Tuladhar, who claims to be an independent leftist himself, was close to Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist Leninist), as a sincere Newar leader he was not that controversial, but in the second convention of the Association when many members of CPN (UML) appeared to capture executive posts it aroused heavy controversy.More about Padmaratna. see Gellner and Sharkey (1996: 37-46) .

36 One faction took the flag of the Foundation in a political rally of the Nepali Congress, a major political party of Nepal, which was a new development for the ethnic associations in Nepal. Before this incident there was no evidence of any ethnic organization taking part in a party politics (see Shrestha, 1996: 2).

37 As an elderly religious man, Bhaktidas Shrestha is not an active person in any political associations, so the Newars' gathering found him uncontroversial to made him the chairman of the National Forum.

38 See The Constitution of Nepal 1990. Kathmandu: Ministry of Justice, HMG.

39 See Tamang 1987 p. 73, Fisher 1993 p. 11-14.

40 These demands were presented by M.M. Shrestha in a leaflet distributed at the first convention of the Newars on September 1, 1995. See "The Necessity of Newar National Movement and its Path" in Sandhyā Times, a NL daily 1997 May 1, vol.2 no. 179.

41 More on Tamang language situation, see Verenkamp, B.N. 1996 Tamang Tam A Sociolinguistic Study of Eastern Tamang Dialects (in Nepal) Kathmandu: CNAS. See also S.K. Sonntag 1995 "Ethnolinguistic Identity and Language Policy in Nepal" for Tamang and Tharu identity.

42 See "Manifesto of The All Nepal Nationalities Organization" in Janajāti 1997 1(1):7-10.

43 More on the autonomy right see Shrestha, M.L. 1998 "*Sarbocca Adālatayā Antarim Ādeśa va Jātiya Svaśāsan*" (Stay Order of the Supreme Court and the National Autonomy) [in Newar] Sandhyā Times April 7-10, .

44 For 'language policy of Left and Nepali Congress' see Shrestha, B. 1990.
"*Bāma-Kāmgresa Sarakārayā Bhāṣā Nītiyā Sambhandhay*" (*A critique on the policy of the united government of Left and Nepālī Congress*) [In Newar] Ināp 8: 28, 3.

45 See Janajāti 1997, 1(1): 8.

46 Kathmandu Municipality used Newar as a medium from 1957 to 1961, with the introduction of Panchayat System in 1961 it stopped to do so. (see Shrestha 1996: 2).

47 See Tamot, K 1997 "On Writ Against Newar in the Court" In Deśeymaru Jhyāū 4:30, 2.

48 See The Kathmandu Post, an English daily, March 19, 1998

49 See Burghart 1996 for "The formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal" in his recent book The conditions of Listening. Essays on Religion, History and Politics in South Asia. (eds.) C.J. Fuller and Jonathan Spencer. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

50 For "Intercaste Relationship in a Newar Community" see Toffin 1978: 461-481.

51 On the first Newar school see Shrestha, B.G. and A.W. van den Hoek 1995. 'Education in the Mother Tongue; the Case of Nepālbhāsā (Newar)' Contributions to the Nepalese Studies. 22:1, 73-86.

52 See news published in Sandhyā Times (a NL daily), December 29, 1995. 1: 58.

53 See above note no. 25.

54 See above mentioned Siddhidas's quotation in section IV.

55 See commentary by Pradip Shrestha, the founder general secretary of *Prajātāntrik Nepālbhāsā Khalah* and the editor of *Desaymarujhyāḥ*, a NL weekly. August 24, 1995, vol. 2 no. 32. This weekly has continuously published views against the left predominance in Newar organizations from the beginning of its publication in 1994. Recently Gellner has lengthily discussed the political affiliations of the Newars. See Gellner 1997 (151-184).

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The Sociology of the Newar Language

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1. Social and Regional Dialects

The majority of Newar speakers live in the Kathmandu Valley. There is however a wide distribution of Newars in many cities and rural areas across the country. This has given rise to several distinct varieties of the language in terms of social stratification and geographical spread. One can thus talk about the differences in the linguistic habits of the Newars from different regions and social classes. These varieties are usually referred to as 'dialects of Newar' and can be compared to Kathmandu Newar which is generally recognized as the standard language both in speech and writing. There are however several methodological problems in studying the varieties of Newar. The most important is the lack of reliable data collected through questionnaires, interviews, tape recordings of free speech or the documentation of locally written materials. The work that has been done on the Newar dialects includes data on phonetics, verb morphology, and lexicon but very little indeed on syntax or varieties of discourse. Further, there has not been any studies on social variation based on caste, education, age and sex as well as on socio-economic status of the Newars living in Kathmandu Valley or settled in various areas of the kingdom. Daya Shakya and a few native scholars have conducted pioneer research on the dialects of Newar. Shakya (1987) in his study of the distribution of the Newars and their language in different districts of Nepal compiled the following comparative statistics for the years 1971 and 1981 showing the percentage of Newar population in each of the 75 Districts. The figures from 1991 Census Report have been added in Table 2 to indicate the current spread of Newar speakers in relation to language variation.

Table 1. Percentage of Newar Population in each District, Shakya (1987)
(+) Increase / (-) Decline / (0) No data (=) Stable

Zones	Disrtricts	Percentage		Remarks
		1971	1981	
Mechi	Taplejung	1.00	0.36	-
	Panchthar	0.36	0.36	-
	Ilam	1.41	0.17	-
	Jhapa	1.07	0.61	-
Sagarmatha	Solukhumbu	0.32	0.96	+
	Khotang	2.94	0.44	-
	Okhaldhunga	3.41	0.67	-
	Udayapur	1.64	1.02	-
	Siraha	0.19	0.31	+
	Saptari	0.02	0.10	+
Koshi	Sankhuwasabha	1.68	1.19	-
	Terathum	1.39	0.13	-
	Dhankuta	3.21	2.30	-
	Morang	0.97	0.97	=
	Bhojpur	1.83	0.36	-
	Sunsari	1.14	1.50	+
Janakpur	Dolakha	3.79	3.40	-
	Ramechhap	9.10	3.50	-
	Sindhuli	3.17	2.90	-
	Dhanusa	0.16	0.23	+
	Mahottari	0.09	0.16	+
	Sarlahi	0.61	0.31	-
Narayani	Chitawan	2.44	2.60	+
	Parsa	0.88	3.58	+

	Bara	0.38	0.71	+
	Rautahat	0.03	2.00	+
	Makwanpur	8.94	5.30	-
Gandaki	Manang	0.03	0.21	+
	Gorkha	0.95	0.90	-
	Kaski	2.83	2.70	-
	Lamjung	0.43	1.80	+
	Syangja	2.01	2.00	-
	Tanahu	5.77	3.80	-
Dhaulagiri	Mustang	0.03	0.19	+
	Baglung	1.06	0.70	-
	Myagdi	1.06	0.17	-
	Parbat	1.17	0.70	-
Bheri	Dailekh	0.00	0.02	+
	Jajarkot	0.01	0.03	+
	Surkhet	0.00	0.04	+
	Bardiya	0.09	0.18	+
	Banke	0.25	0.43	+
Seti	Kailali	0.05	0.13	+
	Doti	0.00	0.00	0
	Achham	0.00	0.01	+
	Bajura	0.00	0.00	0
	Bajhang	0.00	0.00	0
Bagmati	Rasuwa	0.16	0.05	-
	Nuwakot	2.14	2.10	-
	Sindhupalchok	6.88	4.40	-
	Dhading	0.39	0.89	+
	Kathmandu	41.56	30.80	-
	Bhaktapur	62.89	50.20	-
	Lalitpur	45.08	37.70	-
	Kabhre	10.73	5.50	-
Lumbini	Gulmi	0.80	0.32	-
	Arghakhachi	1.19	0.24	-
	Kapilvastu	0.13	1.60	+
	Rupandehi	1.15	1.60	+
	Palpa	3.25	2.30	-
	Nawalparasi	0.77	1.00	+
Rapti	Rukum	0.01	0.05	+
	Salyan	0.01	0.01	=
	Rolpa	0.01	0.03	+
	Pyuthan	1.06	0.23	-
	Dang	0.18	0.00	-
	Kalikot	0.00	0.00	0
	Dolpa	0.00	0.03	+
Mahakali	Kanchanpur	0.03	0.04	+
	Dadeldhura	0.00	0.03	+
	Baitadi	0.01	0.01	=
	Darchula	0.00	0.00	0

It is clear from the figures given in Table 1 that although the highest concentration of the Newar population is in the Kathmandu Valley, the previous records show that there is a mark of decline from 54 % in 1951/54 to 43.9 % in 1991. The 1991 Census Report recorded a total of 258,250 speakers (38.2 %) .in Kathmandu, 118,431 speakers (46.1 %) in Lalitpur, and 108,653 speakers (62.8 %) in Bhaktapur. The decline in the capital city of Kathmandu is particularly prominent when compared to the previous reports, and Bhaktapur has retained the reputation of being the biggest stronghold of the Newar population with over 62 % in 1971 and 1991. The overall decline in Newar speakers in the Kathmandu Valley can be attributed to language loss and migration of Newars to

other areas of the country. According to the calculations of Gurung (1997: 164) the percentage of language retention among the Newars is 66.3 % which is comparatively much lower than the other ethnic groups.

Languages	**Percentage**
Dhimal	90.0 %,
Tamang	88.8 %,
Jirel	86.5 %,
Limbu	85.5 %,
Rai Kiranti	83.6 %,
Thami	75.4 % etc.

These figures seem to contradict the claim made by Malla (1989 : 456) that "though they number less than 500,000 in the whole Kingdom, their language loyalty has remained one of the strongest in Nepal". It is also obvious from Table 1 that the distribution of Newars outside the Kathmandu Valley remains rather scanty and very uneven. This has been the situation for the last four decades although the Census Report of 1961 reported that "as a language spoken in every district of the kingdom, Newar occupies the second place" (p.44), and in 1981 it was estimated that some 20 % of Nepal's urban population spoke Newar.

The Census Report 1991 records 1991 records data according to district, regional and national levels. One major innovation of the report is the inclusion of figures by caste/ethnic group together with the number of active speakers of mother tongues and of second languages. Table two below summarizes the distribution of Newar speakers in the five Development Regions :

Table 2. The Distribution of Newar speakers in the five Development Regions Census Report 1991

Development Regions	Total Population	Newars	Regional %	National %
1.Eastern	4,446,749	40,684	0.91	0.22
2. Central	6,183,955	586,722	9.48	3.17
3. Western	3,770,678	57,999	1.53	0.31
4. Mid- Western	2,410,414	3,662	0.15	0.01
5. Far-Western	1,679,301	940	0.05	0.02
Total :	18,491,097	6,90,007		3.73

Daya Shakya has conducted preliminary research on the Newar dialects in many areas of Nepal and compiled comparative word-lists for discussions on lexical and morphological variations from the three principal dialect areas of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur . Based on the available linguistic evidence, Shakya (1990 : 5) divides the Newar language spoken outside the Valley into Western, Central and Eastern groups which he represents as follows:

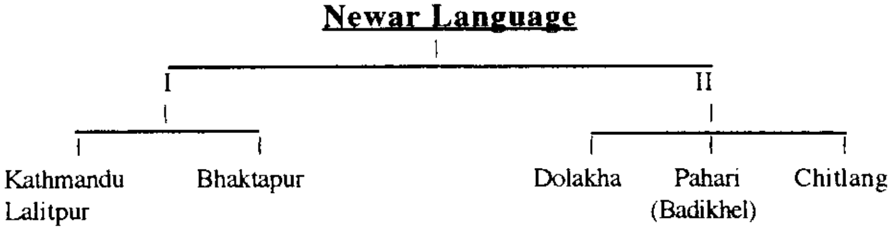
Table 3 : Grouping of out of Valley dialects of Newar Language

Out of Valley Dialects

Western (1)	Western (2)	Central	Eastern (1)	Eastern (2)
Bandipur	Narayangadh	Tansen (Palpa)	Chainpur	Terhathum
Old Pokhara	Ridi (Gulmi)	Gorkha	Dharan	Bhojpur
Dumre	Baglung	Arughat	Dolakha	Dhankuta
		Rumjatar	Pahari	Biratnagar
			Taplejung	Jhapa, Ilam

Shakya (1990) relates the eastern dialects to Kathmandu /Patan and the western dialects to Bhaktapur. He established these relationships on the basis of linguistic and cultural links. Apart form these groupings of the outlying dialects, Shakya also suggests two major sub- groupings on the basis of verb conjunction morphology.

Table 4: Two Sub-groupings of Newar dialects based on Verb Conjugation Morphology



The first group in the table 4 consisting of the three Valley dialects has conjunct/ disjunct verb system and the second group has subject agreement system inflecting for person and number. A subsequent study however has revealed that the Chitlang dialect is quiet similar to Kathmandu (Shakya 1997) and cannot be grouped with Dolakha and Pahari (Badikhel). The Dolakha and Pahari dialects spoken in the Charikot district in eastern Nepal seem to be the most interesting from a historical point of view. The finite past verb paradigms for /na-/ 'to ear' given below serve to illustrate this contrast in the two groups :

Table 5: Finite past verb conjugation in Group 1 and Group 2 Dialects

	Group I		Group II	
	Kathmandu/Patan	Bhaktapur	Dolakha	Pahari
	S/p	S/p		
1	na-yā	na-yā	1s na-gi	nia:-ni
2/3	nal-a	nal-ā	1p na-gu	nia:-raũ
			2s na-mun	nia-nā
			2p na-min	nia-raũ
			3s na-ju	nia-ri
			3p na-hin	nia-ri

S = Singular, p = Plural

The native and foreign scholars who have investigated the Dolakha Newar dialect include Mali (1979/80), R. Shakya (1981), Tamrakar (1981/82), Sayami (1986), Shrestha (1989, 1996), D. Shakya (1989, 1990, 1992), Genetti (1990) and Van Driem (1993) . Van Driem argues that Dolakha Newar is more similar to the Kiranti languages than to the conjunct - disjunct system of Kathmandu, and hypothesize that the Dolakha type of verb morphology is reconstructable for Proto- Newar. This position however is debatable and it may not be possible to arrive at a definite conclusion without adequate historical evidence in the development of the Dolakha dialect since the Licchavi period (300-179 AD), when the Newars from the Kathmandu Valley were first reported to have migrated to this area in eastern Nepal. In view of the historical importance to this dialect, Table-6 below provides the full conjugational morphology of the <-t > stem- final Dolakha verb /yet-/ – "do" representing the finite and nonfinite forms, The Dolakha verbs have the stem- finals <-n >, <-t >, <-r >, <-l > which are regular for all verb classes in this dialect as compared to their inconsistent occurrences in Kathmandu. In the following Table from Genetti (1990/1994: 94) PH = Past Habitual; 2H = 2nd person honorific; NR1 & 2 = Nominalizer & Relativizer 1 & 2.

Table 6: Inflection of <-t > stem-final verb /yet-/ 'do' in Dolakha Newar, Genetti (1990/1994:94)

	Past Habitual	Past	Present	Future
1s	ye-ku-ĩ	yet-ki	yet-a-gi	yer-i
1p	ye-ku-pe	yet-ku	yet-a-gu yer-i	
2s	ye-ku-n	yet-mun	yet-a-n	yer-i-na
2p	ye-ku-min	yet-min	yet-a-min	yer-i-na-n
2H	ye-ku-pe	yet-ku	yet-a-gu yer-I-ta	
3s	ye-ku-ju	yet-cu	yet-a-I	yer-e-u
3p	ye-ku-tan	yet-hin	yet-a-hin	yer-e-u
INF	yer-i	NR 1 ye-ku		
PART	yeN-an	NR 2 yen-a		

As it can be seen in the Table 6, the Dolakha verb is characterized by two slots, the tense suffix followed by the person and number morpheme. The stem- final <-t > does not appear in the Past Habitual(PH) column and <-t > is changed to <-r > in the future column. The analysis of Shrestha (1989) also recognizes the Present Habitual category which is significantly different from Genetti's PH, as can be seen in Table 7 below:

Table 7 : Present Habitual, Past Habitual and Finite Past inflections in Dolakha Newar (Shrestha 1989)

	Pres.H	PH	PST
1s	yat-a-gi	ya-ku-i	yat-ki
1p	yat-a-gu	ya-ku-pe	yat-ku
2s	yat-a-n	ya-ku-n	yat-mun
2p	yat-a-min	ya-ku-min	yat-min
3s	yat-a-i	ya-ku	yat-cu
3p	yat-a-hin	ya-ku-tan	yat-hin

The Present Habitual and Past Habitual forms in the Table 7 differ in several respects. First, the stem <-t > is maintained in the Pres.H but not in PH (yat-a-gi VS. ye-ku-ũ). second, the Present Habitual suffix <-gu > is not devoiced to <-ku > after stem- final <-t > as in the PH paradigm in the Table 6. Third, Shrestha regards the flexional suffix <-u > in its stative form as an impersonal PH-marker which is not attested in the Pres. H forms. The finite past forms however, are identical in Shrestha (1989) and Genetti (1990). It may also be noted that Genetti's representation of the first person plural and second person honorific forms are identical and hence ambiguous for the PH, PST and PRES paradigms, but the second person honorific (2H) suffix <-ta > in the future is quite is quite distinct from the rest.

Shakya (1992) in his later study classified Newar dialects into six groups : (1) Kathmandu and Patan, (2) Bhaktapur, (3) Pyangaũ, (4) Bandipur, (5) Dolakha, and (6) Pahari (Badikhel). Although all the sub-dialects in the language have not been studied and no definite relationships have been established among dialects, it is clear that subject-verb agreement with some variations is evident only in Dolakha and Pahari. The available data from the remaining dialects show close association with the volitonal-evidential conjunct/disjunct system in Kathmandu/Patan and Bhaktapur. The presence of these two distinct system of finite verb inflections has been a matter of much speculation and debate in current literature. The controversy centers on the exact location of Newar within the genetic classification of Tibeto- Burman. The language has traditionally occupied a tentative position between the Bodish and East Himalayan branches of the Bodic Division. The Bodish branch accommodates Tibetan, Sherpa, and Tamang, Gurung, Thakali group of language, while the East Himalayan group is dominated by Kiranti

and Kham-Magar languages. The uncertainty therefore, lies in what Shakya (1990:9) refer to as "Bodish vs. Kiranti influence ", and which system is reconstructable for Proto-Newar. While Van Driem (1993) has advocated the hypothesis of "*Māhākirānti*", i.e. the Newar-Kiranti link at the Proto-level and placed Newar firmly within the East Himalayan group, Kansakar (1996) provides a critique on the given solution as premature as it is not supported by any evidence in the form of concrete historical or comparative data. It is thus, unlikely that the problem can be resolved without in-depth diachronic studies of the Newar phonology and morphology.

2. Attitudes Towards Language Variation

The traditional attitude to language variation has much to do with the distinction between the standard variety and dialect which generally refers to a non- standard variety. Everyone speaks one or more dialects of a language depending upon their association with certain regional with certain or social varieties. Yet many people seem to think that their speech is standard and it is the other people who use dialects. The tendency therefore, is to regard a dialect form as in some ways inferior, strange or incomprehensible. Neither common misconception about a dialect is its confusion with the term 'accent' which is a feature of pronunciation. The speakers of Kathmandu Newar often remark that Bhaktapur Newars and speakers of outlying dialects have '*bhāe wa :* ' in their speech, i.e. they speak with a sound system quite different from one's own. The judgments on dialect differences therefore seem to focus on variation in pronunciation rather than on morphology and syntax. There are however quite a number of lexical variations which people sometimes quote in good humor to illustrate their quaint and unusual word formations. Shakya (1990 :4) gives samples of the following lexical differences between the Kathmandu/Patan and Bhaktapur dialects :

Kathmandu/Patan	Bhaktapur	Gloss
la:	nā:	water
imu:	yāī	ant
lāti	āli	dumb woman
bhyaga:	kala	earthen pot
nhipya	chupyā	tail
baiga	dandā	top floor
bhutu	dhepa	short woman

Although no scholar, to my knowledge, has studied or sought to determine the etymology of these lexical differences, Manandhar (1986) and Vaidya (1986) claim that a large number of Kathmandu/ Patan lexical items are innovations of Sanskrit origin, and Bhaktapur may represent the older Newar forms. This is indeed a distinct possibility since Bhakatpur is clearly a more conservative dialect which has retained the older morphophonemic system of the later Classical Newar period. If this is the case, as the present evidence seems to indicate, the Kathmandu/ Patan speakers may be showing a very prejudicial attitude when they laugh at the strange sounding words of Bhaktapur-Thimi speakers. There is however a good deal of tolerance among speakers of various dialects although the isoglosses that separate one speech variety from the other occasionally cause problems of intelligibility. There are for example a cluster of dialects spoken within Kathmandu Valley itself, but the channels of communication among these various groups of speakers are far from ideal. In the case of the Dolakha and Pahari dialects of eastern Nepal, which differ from the Valley dialects in phonology, lexicon and morphosyntactic features, the lack of comprehension, is almost total. This barrier to communication between Dolakha and Kathmandu continues to exist in view of geographical distance and absence of social /cultural contacts. The contacts among various dialect speakers however have increased very rapidly in recent years, and it is not uncommon to meet many Newars from (from) remote regions in Kathmandu. Such mobility and frequent contacts with Kathmandu have given rise to one distinct trend among the speakers of out of Valley dialects, i.e. to learn to speak Kathmandu Newar or to speak Nepali with the Kathmandu Newar to disguise their regional identity and thus avoid the embarrassment of being made fun by the speakers of standard language. This notion of standard/non-standard, superior/inferior value judgments about varieties of the language has persisted and may take some time before the existing differences in socio-cultural and regional backgrounds as reflected in language use will disappear in the melting pot of Kathmandu.

3. Newar and Language Contact

Nepal today has developed a basic infrastructure of communications through roads, air services and electronic media which has served to bring people of diverse ethnic origins from different parts of the country closer together. There is therefore a greater mobility of people in most regional areas, especially the growing migration of the rural population from the hills and lowlands to the affluence of Kathmandu Valley. The situation has promoted social, cultural and commercial contacts which in turn have encouraged linguistic influences on the Newar language from other Indo- Aryan and Tibeto- Burman languages of Nepal. Language contact situations of this kind normally give rise to mutual influences in the form of lexical or structural borrowings and the growth of bilingualism or multilingualism within changing social relationships. It is extremely rare today to find monolingual Newar speakers except among the elderly illiterate persons whose social or professional contacts with speakers of other languages are very limited. Almost all the Newars of Kathmandu Valley are therefore bilinguals, their dominant second language Nepali. The Newars in fact use Nepali extensively for educational, commercial and professional purposes. There are also many Newars writers who use Nepali for creative writings, and as increasing number of Newars, particularly Hindu Newars, who speak Nepali not only professionally but also at home and so social occasions. The growing criticism these days is targeted to those parents who do not speak the mother- tongue with their children but encourage instead the use of Nepali and English. Many see this as one important factor in the progressive decline of active Newar speakers, while a radical view blames it on the dominant language policy that has prevailed in the country since the Rana regime. According to the Census Report 1991, Nepali is used as a second language by over 18 % (3,347,261) of the total population of Nepal as compared to 13.3 % reported in the 1952/54 Census Report. This rapid spread of bilingualism has coincided with the declining trend in the number of Newar speakers and numerous minority languages in the country. The Census Report 1991 has for the first time recorded a distinction between ethnic group or caste and speakers of the mother tongue. The Report therefore clearly shows an alarming decline in the number of speakers of many languages including Newar, as can be seen in the following tables:

Table 8. The decline in the speakers of some languages, Census Report (1991)

Languages	Caste/Ethnic Group	Speakers	Decline	Percentage
Majhi	55,050	11,322	-43,728	79.4
Magar	13,39,308	4,30,264	-9,09,044	67.8
Danuwar	50,754	23,721	-27,033	53.2
Gurung	4,49,189	2,27,918	-2,21,271	49.2
Darai	10,759	6,520	-4,239	39.3
Newari	10,41,090	6,90,007	-3,51,083	33.7
Chepang	36,656	25,097	-11,559	31.5
Tharu	11,94,224	9,93,338	-2,00,836	16.8
Rai/Kiranti	5,25,551	4,39,312	-86,239	16.4
Limbu	2,97,186	2,54,088	-43,098	14.5
Tamang	10,18,252	9,04,456	-1,13,796	11.1

The statistics recorded for 1991 clearly indicate that there are 10,41,090 ethnic Newars but only 6,90,007 active speakers remaining in the country. This means that some 3,51,083 Newars (33.7 %) do not understand or use their mother tongue any more. There may also be a section of Newars for whom Newar is a second or even a third language. It is therefore necessary to understand the nature and use of Newar in relation to its contact with other languages. As mentioned earlier that the most Newars are at least bilingual and often multilingual. Although there has not been any studies on bilingualism with reference to Newar, the two Census Reports of 1952/54 and 1991 provide much useful data on the second language speakers and the spread of bilingualism in the country. The Census Report 1991 estimates that 22,129 people, i.e. 0.5% of the population speak Newar as a second language as compared to 9,205 (i.e. 0.8 %) in 1951/54. This shows an increase of 12,924 people (i.e. 1.4 %) who are bilinguals in the Newar language. Among the reported second languages, "Nepali alone claimed 86.6 percent of all with second language. The next in order were Hindi (5.3%) and Terai rural (4.7 %). Newar with 0.7 %). Newari with 0.7 percent led among the Tibeto-Burman group" (Gurung 1997:165). There are also partial word-lists available to show various

kinds of contact, which have led to various kinds of influences, both of other languages on Newar and of Newar on other languages. These influences, mainly reflected in lexical borrowings, can be seen in the following examples :

Table 9: Lexical borrowings in Newar from various source languages

Nepali	**Newar Forms**	**Gloss**
Numerals	ek, dui, tin etc.	One, two, three, etc.
Days of the week	vrihaspatibar/bihibar	Thursday, etc.
Date, month, year	Phalgun sat gate, 2052	7th of Phalgun, Vikram Samvat 2052
Weights & measures (old)	pau, dharni	1pau=200gm, 1 dharni=2kg& 400gm
Mec, pāp, āsā, jāgir	mec, pāp, āsā, jāgir	chair, sin, hope, job
Ghu: s, bhrastācaar	ghu: s bhrastacar	bribery, corruption
rājdu:t,bhāg,annyā	rājdu:t,bhāg,annyā	ambassador,share,,unjust
phasad, āpat	phasad, apadh	difficulty, crisis
mantri, sāsad	mantri, sāsad	minister, parliament
anubhab, chasmā	anubhab, chasma	experience, spectacles
ghadi, kaẽci	ghadi, kaẽci	watch, scissors
noksān, gaph-saph	noksan, gaph- saph	damage/loss, gossip
khāli, khwasnu	khāli, khwasae yāye	empty, to dismiss from service.
Sanskrit :	**Newar Forms**	**Gloss**
grāhak	gaha	customer, client
jyoti	jati > ja :	light
āchārya	āchā:-ju	Hindu priest
āgama	āgā	sacred place of worship
palisthā	paltha	consecrate
swarga	sarga:	sky, heaven
pāṭhyakram	pāthyakram	curriculum
pāṭhyapustak	pāthya- saphu	text-book
pā:th, dharmasala	pāth, dharmasālā	lesson, charity house
stri- purusa	ni- mha tipu	husband & wife, couple
tyā:g	tyā:g	renunciation
Pachima	pachim	west
ekānta	yekānta	solitary, lonely
suwā:la	suwā:	blessing, praise
Hindi < Persian	**Newar forms**	**Gloss**
rojagār	lajagā:	job, employment
laskara	laskar	crowd, gathering
sāmān	sāmān	goods, merchandise
maidā	maidā	fine wheat flour
rikāpi	rikāpi	small plate
sipahi	sipāmi > sipaî	soldier
haftah	haptā	week
ta:kat	tā:gat	energy, strength, power
Tibetan	**Newar forms**	**Gloss**
syā	lā	meat
	Mar-sya	raw meat
	Sya- pari	meat- puri
phī:	phī:	buck-wheat noodles
chyāri	saẽcyā	ball/brick tea
momo	momocā	steamed dumplings

English	Newar forms
file	phāil
form	phāram
film	philim
lamp	lamphā
suitcase	sutkes
rubber	rabar
driver	ḍāibar
motor	motar
football	phutba:l
brush	burus
general	jarnel
colonel	karnel
bicycle	bāiskal
computer	kamputar
radio	rediwā
thermometer	digri
telephone	teliphon
tractor	tyāktar
underwear	andarwel
waistcoat	iskot
foreign	phoran
gram, kilogram	grām, kilogrām
inch, foot, metre	inci, phut, mitar
video, antenna	bhidiwa:, antena
glass, x-ray, injection	gilas, yeksare, injeksan

The loan words in Newar listed above are of three kinds: (a) direct borrowings with some modification in pronunciation, e.g. lampha 'lamp', tyaktar 'tractor; (b) changes in the morphological structure of the words, e.g. *grāhak > gāhā:* 'client, customer', *jyoti > jati > ja:* 'light'; and (c) compound words or inflected forms of nouns and verbs which are pretty borrowed and partly native, e.g. *sya-pari* 'meat-puri', momo-chā (momo+diminutive suffix) ' smaller variety of Tibetan momo', *pathya- saphu:* 'text-book", etc. The Classical Newar texts also contain innumerable examples where the root word is most often Sanskrit and the inflected suffix in Newar, e.g. *raksa-rape* 'to protect', *danda-rapam* 'was punished or imposed a fine', etc. The borrowings from various sources in the Newar language, however, may be far more extensive than the limited sets of examples given in Table 9 above. The borrowings from Newar in the other languages also seem to be very limited. The following is a brief collection of Newar words which have gone into common use in Nepali, although the actual etymology of these words have been subject to various interpretations:

partly

Table 10: Newar Loan Words in the Nepali language

Newar	Nepali	Gloss
jhyā:	jhyāl	window
pasa:	pasal	shop
jyābha:	jyābal	tool
bi-nhā-bi	binā:bi	move aside !
kwāti	kwāti	boiled momos with soup
suku	sukul	straw mat
phasi	pharsi	pumpkin
chākusi	chāksi	sweet citrus fruit
lapte	lapes	leaf Plate
jhyālinchā	jhyālinchā	a kind of drum; dragon fly: a teaser in Lakhe dance
khyā:	khyāli	fun and laughter
kharācā	kharāyo	rabbit

4. Language Functions

One of the most important aspects of language contact is the specialization of function of one language or the other. In one set of situations only Newar is appropriate and in another only Nepali or English is desirable. While this is true also for varieties of the same language called 'diglossia' (Ferguson 1964), we can draw a parallel case in language contact situations where the question of language choice or options may depend on pragmatic or political factors rather than on social or cultural considerations. As an illustration, the following table gives a sample listing of possible situations where an average educated Newar uses various languages, with indications of which language is normally used for which function/s :

Table 11. The uses of various languages by an average educated Newar person.

	Newar	Nepali	English	Hindi	Sanskrit
1. Religious rituals					X
2. Lectures & speeches		X	X		
3. Seminars & conferences		X	X		
4. Instructions to servants	X				
5. Personal letters to:					
a. Newars	X	X			
b. Non-Newars		X	X		
6. Conversation with:					
a.family members	X	X			
b. colleagues & friends		X	X		
c. Indians / foreigners			X	X	
7. Creative literature	X	X	X		
8. Newspaper & periodicals	X	X	X		
9. Social occasions :					
a. birthday, bratabandha etc.	X				
b. marriage party	X	X			
10. Shopping	X	X		X	
11. News Broadcast:Radio/TV	X	X	X	X	

The Table 11 above reveals several points of interest on the bilingual and multilingual language use of Newar speakers. First, it is obvious that an educated Newar speaks Nepali as much as his mother-tongue, and today tends to use more English than either Newar or Nepali for professional or personal reasons. Second, the options available for the use of Nepali is greater than the use of Newar, i.e. there are far more language functions for which he either needs or prefer to communicate in Nepali than in his own language. When compared to the options for Newar-English, we see that English takes priority over the use of Newar language. Third, a Newar has very limited opportunity to speak Hindi, but this situation may be changing rapidly in view of the large-scale influx of Indian tourists and Hindi-speaking traders and workers in the Kathmandu Valley. While many of these traders of Indian origin or the Tarai of Southern Nepal quickly pick up Nepali for local communication, there are also a large number of Nepali or Newar speakers who speak Hindi quite fluently. The situations where Hindi is used, are gradually increasing not only as a medium of trade and commerce but also in political discourse, mass media and education. Finally, the use of Sanskrit among the Newars is confined to recitation of sacred texts by a Vajrāchārya priest or head of family during religious rituals. The Newar translations of these texts are not available and the layman tends to recite them mechanically without comprehending their meaning. There are however many learned Newar scholars who have a high degree of competence in the Sanskrit language and very rich tradition of Sanskrit literature. It is thus clear from the Table 11 that today's Newar speakers are in general fairly versatile in their use of various national and foreign languages which defines the range of language functions they control and the extent or frequency of their contact with other languages.

Notes

1.. It must be noted that old Newar has its own set of words for numerals (e.g. the numerals one to ten are: *chha/chhi, nyi/nasi, swā, pi/pye, nyā, khu, nhae /nhasa, cyā,gu,jhi*).

2.Newar also has its own date calculated according to the lunar calendar, e.g. paaru, dvitiya, tritiyā, chauthi, panchami, khasthi, saptami, navami, dasami 'the first to the tenth day of the month); month (kachhalaa-thva, kachhala-gā 'the dark fortnight of the month of kachhalā). The Newars also have their own calendar known as Nepal Samvat, but this has very limited uses today and is not referred to in conversations. The Nepali numerals along with the official calendar Vikram Sambat are more widely used by Newars in speech and writing although there have been attempts recently to revive the old numeral system and the Nepal Sambat calendar at least in written Newar language.

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Living With Newar Buddhists : Some Personal Reflections*

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In April 1982[1] I set off from England for Nepal to carry out two years of fieldwork on Buddhism among the Newars. I flew to Delhi and then went by train to Allahabad to visit a friend who had studied in Oxford. I had been to Nepal twice before, and had even taken some Nepali lessons in 1976 before spending 2-3 months trekking around the middle hills in a year between school and university. But I knew no Newar language, and, though I had visited Bhaktapur as a tourist more than once, I had never crossed the Bagmati river from Kathmandu to Lalitpur, where I now planned to live.

However, I was not arriving in total ignorance of the people I would be living among. I already knew a fair amount from what previous scholars had written. On Buddhism there were Father John Locke's book, *Karunāmaya*, Sylvain Lévi's book, *Lé Népal*, which by then was already three quarters of a century old, two articles by an anthropologist called Stephen Greenwold, and one article and the book on the Kumari cult, by the anthropologist Michael Allen. On Newar culture and society there were the works of Gérard Toffin, Hiroshi Ishii, Anne Vergati and others. From their work, I knew already that I would have to come to an understanding of the Newars' special social and religious organizations, called *guthi*, and of the *bahāls (viharas)* to which all Śakya and Vajrāchārya men (the Buddhist 'clergy') had to belong. Mary Slusser's great work, *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural History of the Kathmandu Valley* had just appeared. Although it cost over $100, even at the suicidally high exchange to which Thatcher's laissez-faire monetary policy had driven the pound sterling, I knew I had to have it with me in the field. However, I was sure that close acquaintance with the Śakya and Vajrāchāryas of today would enable me to provide a more sympathetic and less judgmental account of their religious practice than either Slusser or Lévi, with their long historical perspective and their focus on past glories, had given.

In practical matters I was helped enormously by the fact that my friend and colleague, Declan Quigley, preceded me into the field. Declan was virtually at the end of his fieldwork in the town of Dhulikhel, beyond the eastern rim of the Kathmandu Valley, when I arrived in Nepal. Thanks to his assistance and foresight, I managed to obtain my research visa in the record time of one week from arrival in Nepal. And I was able to stay with him in Dhulikhel on the last leg of his research, watch him collect genealogies, and observe with him how Dhulikhel Shresthas worshipped their lineage deities. Declan introduced me to Rajendra Pradhan, who was at that time in the middle of his fieldwork on the domestic rituals and 'cosmic' (i.e. city-wide) festivals of Kathmandu for a doctorate at Delhi University. Rajendra took me with him on numerous occasions, for instance to observe *bauyākhwā swoyegu din* 'Father's Day' at Gokarna, and he introduced me to the family of Lok Darshan, who rented me a self-contained bed sitting room for two months while I took Newar language lessons and searched for a field site. My Newar language teacher, who had also taught Declan and many other students of Newar society before and since, was Subarna Man Tuladhar, a wonderfully sensitive teacher and interpreter of his own society.

I knew from Father Locke's book that Kwā Bahal in Lalitpur was the largest of the Newar Buddhist monasteries. I thought that I might as well go there, where there would be the most ritual activity, so I went with Rajendra to Nāg Bāhāl to see if there was a possibility of renting a room or a house. I was keen to live with Śākya and Vajrāchāryas in order to participate in and observe, as far as possible, their way of life. Rajendra made enquiries on my behalf and we were shown a house in Ila Nani; we also went to the shop of Hera Kaji Sujikar, and he said, "Wait a minute". He crossed the way to the house of Kuber Muni and Jog Maya Śakya, while we sat among the sewing machines and Theravada pamphlets. He came back and reported that I could take two rooms with them for 250 rupees a month (at that time equivalent to about £12, and well within my student grant). This seemed preferable to being in a house on my own, and it was agreed that I would come back in a few weeks time after I had gone

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on a trek around Annapurna. I remember wondering to myself if I would ever be able to understand Jog Maya's Newar language.

I moved into Kuber Muni and Jog Maya's house a few days before Dasāin (Mohani). On normal days they lived alone in quite a large house, while the rest of the family- their son, Mangal Ratna (Jetha), his wife, their one daughter and three sons, the oldest of whom, Bijay, was already married -- stayed in the new house in Pyā Pukhu, ten minutes walk away at the other end of the city. However, the family cloth shop was just outside the entrance to Nag Bahal and somebody came to visit every day. On all festival days the whole family moved back and held celebrations and rituals together in the old house. For three days during Dasāin we ate nothing but beaten rice and buffalo meat. I had been a vegetarian for two years, but the difficulty of refusing meat when I had no specific religious rationale for doing so and a strong anthropological compulsion to fit in with Newar life, put an end to that. Within a week of living with a Newar family I had acquired a taste for buffalo meat, and discovered the unsettling effects of beaten rice on a stomach that isn't used to it.

At this stage my grasp of Newar language was still fairly rudimentary. Every week I would return to Subarna Man with a long list of words and phrases that I had not fully grasped and which had not been satisfactorily explained to me. Unlike today, there was at that time no dictionary of Newar language and no user- friendly account of the grammar. I attended festivals and rituals whenever I could, I talked with whoever was willing to talk, I read Āshā Kaji Vajrāchārya's *Bungadyo Nepal-e Hahgu Khā* (the story of the bringing of Karunamaya/Bungadyo to Nepal). During all this time I was talking with Jog Maya every day and I discovered that indeed I could understand her. More than that, she came to be concerned for me like a mother. She taught me a very large part of what I know of what Buddhism means for Shakya of her generation. Many years later, when it was finally completed, I decided to dedicate my book to her since it contained many of her observations.

I also needed to learn the technical details of the rituals of Newar Buddhism, since they are so important part of the traditional religion. For this, I eventually decided to go to Āshā Kaji Vajrāchārya. Some foreigners had warned me against him, but I found him always genial and helpful. With his guidance I began to understand the logic of the Vajrāchāryas' rituals. No other Vajrāchārya would have been willing to give me private tutorials in this way, to explain word by word whatever ritual text I asked for. In fact, other priests feared that he might be explaining secret Tantric matters to me, and indeed I thought it essential to study those, since it is impossible to understand Newar Buddhism without some grasp of what they are about. I left the decision to him: he was happy to teach me about them, quoting a Sanskrit verse to the effect that to the stupid even secret knowledge is noxious, whereas the wise may learn anything. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me that I was able to present him with a copy of my book -- which contained numerous references to him and his books -- in the autumn of 1992, the year before he died. He had wanted me to acknowledge the information I received from him, and I had gladly done so.

A third close friend was Tirtha Lal Maharjan. I met him by chance by while wandering near Yi Bahi on the northern edge of the old city of Lalitpur. He made sure that we remained in contact and he gradually became my main informant on matters to do with the all-important Jyapu or Maharjan farming caste. His father and grandfather were illiterate peasants. Poverty had forced Tirtha to leave school before completing his SLC. But he had an amazing capacity to forge lasting friendship across all barriers of class, caste, and ethnicity. His brick-making business was just beginning to get off the ground in 1983. Several false starts had been caused by dishonest partners, but each time he raised further loans from his vast network of friends and acquaintances.

As today Buddhism among the Newars was of three main kinds in the early 1980s. There was traditional Newar Buddhism, as found in the rituals of the Vajracharyas and the daily devotions of Kwa Bahal and Karunāmaya. There was the attachment of many pious Newar Buddhists to Tibetan Buddhism, expressed in prayer flags and prayer wheels, and the conversion of parts of Kwā Bahāl and Uku Bahāl to Lamaistic *gompas*. And there was the relatively new Theravada movement which was active in organizing meetings, publishing magazines, leading pilgrimages, and teaching meditation. There were, as Jog Maya remarked one day, enough different forms of religion for everyone to choose, just like vegetables in the bazaar. Of course, I saw it as my task to study principally the traditional form of Newar Buddhism, since it was clear that this was in greatest danger of decline. But it was also true that it still provided the ritual and social framework of life for most of those who could be classified as Buddhists in one way or another.

About nine months after I had come to live in his house Kuber Muni passed away after a distressing few weeks of illness. I shared the family mourning. When at the end of it, the family's hereditary barber came to shave the hair off all the men of the household and all

Kuber Muni's grandsons, I too had my head shaved. As I was not a Śakya he started to leave a small top-knot, as is customary with all but Śakya and Vajrāchāryas (they have it cut off as a sign of their monastic status). The young men all shouted as one, "Cut it off! He is one of us!" It is perhaps noteworthy that the rituals before and after Kuber Muni's death were carried out by the household's Vajrāchārya priest (*purohit*), by Theravada monks and nuns, and by the brother of Kuber Muni and Jog Maya's eldest daughter's husband, who was a Newar monk in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. This combination of all three forms of Buddhism is in fact quite common, and is not seen as contradictory in any way. I did not know it then but the book (Gellner 1992) I eventually wrote was mainly an attempt to explain the ideology of Māhāyāna and Tāntric Buddhism which enabled such apparently different forms of Buddhism to be combined in a complementary and hierarchical structure of thought and ritual action.

Kuber Muni's demise meant a change to the family's living arrangements. The rest of the household moved back permanently and rented out the new house. I still had my two rooms but now I was living in a crowded and busy household, in which, as in all such Newar households, privacy is at a premium. But any loss on that score was more than made up for by the extra company and the insight into joint family living that I gained.

As time went on I became ever more busy, carrying out a house-to-house survey, having tutorials with Ash Kaji, collecting inscriptions (alas, as yet barely used), observing rituals, attending meetings, and interviewing all who would talk to me. The fact that I had learned enough Newar language to interview unaided (though this never amounted to total comprehension) stood me in good stead. Often, when working in my room, I would feel the need of a break and would go for a walk around the stunningly beautiful old city of Lalitpur, or on its northern and eastern outskirts which at that time were still unbroken, cultivated fields (unlike the ugly suburban sprawl and scrub which have replaced the ricefields today). I would invariably encounter some Newar who was so pleased that I spoke his language that he willingly answered all my questions. My spirits would soar with renewed enthusiasm for the task of understanding the complexities of Newar society, complexities which had seemed beyond solution an hour before.

My focus on traditional Buddhism meant that inevitably I spent more time with older people than young. Someone once called me "the friend of old people", perhaps because Jog Maya had talked of me in this way when visiting her natal home. It was an epithet I was happy to acknowledge. I had no interest in participating in young people's obsession with the Hindi cinema, for example, though I now accept that this can be a perfectly valid, indeed very interesting, subject to study. Indeed, having taken an MPhil in Indian Religion and done two years of Sanskrit as preparation for my doctorate, to have focused on anything other than traditional religion would have been something of a waste. One highlight was the festival of *Samyak* which, in Lalitpur, is held in Nāg Bāhāl every five years. I was extremely lucky that it fell two months before my departure from the field. It is a massive and spectacular assembly of larger-than-life cast Dipankara figures from all over the city and beyond which celebrates the Buddhist virtue of charitable giving to the Buddhist monastic community (here symbolized by the Dipankara figures and by Śākya and Vajrāchāryas as the Buddhist clergy). The festivities continued throughout the night and the next morning, the only time that I went right through the night without sleeping in the cause of anthropological fieldwork.

I was very impressed by the way in which, in one idiom or another, whether old or young, Newar Buddhists would spend an enormous amount of time and energy on religious activities. They would get up long before dawn, in the cold of winter, and set off for an hour or two's chanting of the Namasangiti, or to walk to Chobhār. They would commit themselves to performing rituals every day of their life before eating. This commitment to religious activity was not so widely shared by other castes.

At the same time there was definitely a gap between the generations. The younger generation was much less keen on traditional rituals and very few of them were willing to take Tantric Initiation (dikśyā) as many of their parents had. Instead they would wax lyrical about the benefits of meditation as taught by Goenka. They would also occasionally dismiss what their parents did completely. During my first year there Puṣpa Śakya insisted that I contribute to a Buddha Jayanti magazine he was editing, to be called Prajñā Darśan. So I wrote a piece entitled, 'Is Newar Buddhism corrupt?' My point was to show that most of the charges made against Newar Buddhism are unfounded; imagine my surprise when I was accosted by a young man, who said to me: "I liked your article in Prajñā Darśan. You are quite right, Newar Buddhism is corrupt." The extremely rapid social change that has occurred in the Kathmandu Valley means that people are unusually alienated from their own traditions, at least as far as religion is concerned. The members of the YMBA, for example, wanted to learn about Māhāyāna

Buddhism, but were not prepared to take instruction in it from the few remaining pundits, such as Āshā Kaji, because, being educated in the foreign fashion, they could only respect someone who could teach in English. In this way the old Newar Buddhist tradition is coming to an end, though it would be quite wrong to say that Buddhism itself is showing any sign of dying out, as so many in the last century predicted it would. Open denunciations of traditional Newar Buddhism, though I have heard them, are not common, I am happy to say. On this I concur with Jog Maya who insisted that whatever dharma someone had a mind to do, they should do it, whether it was Mahayanist or even Hindu in form, and one should not criticize others for preferring a different kind of religion.

This general tolerance of religious form, providing one undertakes some dharma, or other has in fact benefited the Theravada movement, since the older generation is happy to see the younger doing dharma, of whatever kind. It is undeniable that today the vast bulk of pious Buddhist activity and pious donations is directed towards Theravāda Buddhism; money spent on traditional Newar Buddhism is often a case of heritage preservation rather than pious conviction. Theravāda monks have also been extremely adept at raising foreign money for Buddhist projects in Nepal.

Tolerance of different modes of spirituality was also a benefit to the anthropologist. By simply being present on numerous occasions in Kwā Bāhāl I acquired the reputation of being there every morning (which I certainly was not). By sponsoring a performance of the text-reading ceremony in Kwā Bāhāl when my parents visited me, eight months or so after I began to live in Lalitpur, I hoped to show my serious intentions in studying Newar Buddhism. Most seemed happy to accept that those intentions were good and nearly everyone cooperated when I began to do my systematic survey, attempting to establish numbers of people, levels of education, who had taken which kinds of initiation, and religious preferences, for each household in what was then Lalitpur's ward 15. Frequently I was warmly received and learned much else besides what I wanted for my form. In general, no one insisted that I make any kind of formal profession of faith, or that I define my position exactly.

None of the research that I have carried out and published would have been possible without the cooperation and help of all the people I have mentioned, nor indeed without official permission from HMG and the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies in Tribhuvan University. In particular I must thank the members of Kwā Bāhāl, and especially of Nāg Bāhāl, which was my home for 19 months. I was especially touched when they organized a farewell ceremony in the school house with speeches and the ritual of *sagā biyegu* which all Newar travellers go through before their departure. Ratna Kaji Śakya (Bāku Nani), the late Ratna Kaji Śakya (Ananda Bāhāl), and Bhāi Ratna Vajrāchārya (Śarasvati Nani) went out of their way to help me and I am very grateful for their trust and friendship. Daya Ratna Śakya was an extremely resourceful survey assistant and proved a gifted fieldworker in the last year of my research. The members of the small monastery-temple of Chikan Bahil also accepted my enquiries with good grace and indeed warmth. My greatest debt is to Jog Maya, Mangal Ratna, and all their family, with whom I stayed for so long.

The festival of Buddha Jayanti is a new one in Nepal. Traditionally the festival of *Matayā*, some months later, is thought to be a celebration of the Buddha's enlightenment; those participants who circulate around all the *chaityas* of Lalitpur dressed as Maras are supposed to be paying homage to the sage whom they have failed to defeat. But Newar Buddhists have accommodated the new tradition of celebrating the enlightenment of the Buddha on Buddha Jayanti without the slightest cognitive dissonance. The very first to celebrate Buddha Jayanti in Nepal was Dharmāditya Dharmāchārya. How it was received is not recorded. It was the monks of the Theravada tradition however who made it their principal annual celebration and it was the great achievement of the late Bhikkhu Amritānanda to have it accepted as one of Nepal's national holidays.

Note:

David N. Gellner's many publications on religion, culture and society among the Newars include:

Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual, C.U.P. 1992, paperback for South Asia: Delhi: Foundation Books, 1993.

Contested Hierarchies: A Collaborative Ethnography of Caste among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal (co-editor Declan Quigley), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995; paperback edition (with corrections) Delhi: OUP, 1999.

Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom: The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal (co-editors J. Pfaff-Czarnecka and J. Whelpton), Amsterdam: Harwood, 1997.

Chapters on Buddhism and Lalitpur/Patan. *In* **Nepal: A Guide to the Art and Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley** (ed. M Hutt), Gartmore (Scotland). Kiscadale, 1994.

A Celebration of Grieving, Carnival and Satire: Bhaktapur Newars' 'Sāpāru' Festival

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In 1995 and 1997 I participated in the Nepalese city of Bhaktapur's Gai Jātra festival. Bhaktapur, a Newari city of 60,000 inhabitants, lies seven miles east of Kathmandu. One of the three royal centers of the Kathmandu Valley that attained prominence during the Malla dynasty (1482-1769 CE),Bhaktapur is best known for its imposing religious architecture. Besides its temples, however, the city is equally rich in festivals, celebrating over seventy-nine a year. The people celebrate both typically South Asian festivals such as Divali and Holi, as well as events unique to the Kathmandu valley. One important Newar celebration is Gāi Jātrā (in Newāh Bhāe:*Sāyāh*) , the Cow Festival: an intimate mix of death and carnival.

There is no official report on Gai Jātrā's meaning. No published account or completely codified oral account exists[1] . Each version I heard was slightly different and depended on the caste, gender, and education of the informant. One of the festival's origins was related to me on August 20, 1997, by Hari Govinda Ranjitkar and his daughter, while we were getting ready to celebrate the Cow Festival. Having heard that Sāyā means (sā) cow and (yā) procession, I asked why we were celebrating the festival. Mr. Ranjitkar said, "The Cow Festival makes the Cow Goddess happy, and if she is happy she will lead the dead person to heaven. The soul grasps on to the cow's tail. If a family does not do this, the dead person won't find his way and will become a bhut [a mischievous wandering spirit who will cause harm to both the family and the community]."

Later in the day I was talking with my friend Uttam Jha. I told him about Mr. Ranjitkār's explanation. Yet, I noted that this explained the cow and the death motif but not the carnivalesque aspects of the festival. With the help of others sitting around the table, he supplied the following historical legend: Gāi Jātra originated during the reign of King Jagat Prakash Malla (1644-73). The king started the festival when, after the death of his son, he was desperately searching for a means to comfort his grieving queen. To lift his wife's grief, Jagat Malla first sent out a procession of sacred cows to parade in the boy's memory. Yet the queen remained despondent. After the cow parade failed, Jagat had another idea. He ordered all his citizens who had lost a family member during the preceding year to parade below the queen's window so that she could see that she was not the only one who suffered the death of a family member. The populace, outraged at this indignity, instead dressed up in garish costumes to taunt the king. King Jagat Malla was about to order all of the costumed people punished when the queen began to laugh at all the carnival activities. In gratitude King Jagat Malla proclaimed that every year on the day of Gai Jātra people would have complete freedom do whatever they wanted.[2]

After looking at the meaning and narrative Erasmusism behind the festival, it is time to turn to its practices. Gai Jātra's festivities are made up of three parts: the Cow Festival proper, Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twå, and Gunhipunhi. During the first part of Gai Jåtra, the Cow Festival proper, families who have suffered the death of a member during the preceding year decorate either a cow float or a real cow, and together with a troupe of musicians and a carnivalesque assortment of costumed kin and ken, dance and drink their way around the processional route of the city. The procession route (in Newā Sālā) is lined with many hundreds of these troupes (500 were counted in 1988). The number of people in a troupe ranges from only three or four to many hundreds in the case of high status individuals. Most of the troupes' members are higher caste men, but there is no concrete rule on who will participate. In recent times, more women, lower castes, and even foreigners have participated. For instance, besides me, my drum teacher's daughter participated as a musician. And in 1997, besides foreigners, a group of local girls danced a part normally performed by boys (figure 8).

In 1995 I participated in the festival in a troupe that was affiliated with Suryavināyak neighborhood, and in 1997 I participated with one affiliated with the Kathmandu University's music department, which is located in Bhaktapur. Because I was more involved in

the 1997 group, I will concentrate on that one. My participation started on August 4, some three weeks before the festival. At that time, I was speaking with Gert Wegner, the head of the music department. I spoke with him about Gāi Jātrā, and he asked me to participate in the university troupe. He also said that ten British college students would also participate. I suggested that we could also bring a group of fifteen Peace Corps workers who were in training near Bhaktapur. During this time, I had been learning the drum rhythms that go with the festival from one of the university instructors, Mr. Ranjitkār. Feeling that I was intruding on the festival, I asked Mr. Ranjitkār if having all these foreigners was a bad idea. He said no, and in fact he thought that it was a great idea, that it would make him and the university look good. I also asked my supervisor at the municipality, Mr. Amatya, if having all the westerners would ruin the festival. He said that it would be the first of its kind in Bhaktapur and would be good for tourism and the municipality. Mr. Amatya then called a friend at Nepal's national television station, who filmed the university troupe.

Yet, on Kwāti Purni, Monday, August 18, 1997, one day before the festival proper, the plans changed. A young boy came to the Gongah family house where I was living to deliver invitations to participate in the cow troupe for Bal Ram, an influential person who had lived in the neighborhood of Sukendokal. Since the invitation was for the Gongah family, I was included as fictive kin. Mr. Gongah asked if I wanted to go along. I told him I would, but that I had already planned to play with the university. He suggested that we join the two troupes together. We went over to my drum teacher's house and negotiated the change in the program. It was decided that we would join forces *between our* group and Bal Ram's. After that we headed over to Bal Ram's house. Bal Ram's eldest son said that he was very happy to have the prestige of the university's musicians marching in his father's troupe.

Besides the local groups, Nepal's state apparatus also plays a part in Gāi Jātrā through a national religious organization (the *Guthi Samsthān*), which has some hand in managing all of Nepal's large religious events and temples. During Gāi Jātrā the Guthi Samsthan gives four "donations." First, any neighborhood can initiate playing instruments in Durbar square on *Kwāti Purni,* the day before *Gāi Jātra.* They have to go to the Nāsamanā temple beforehand and do a pujā to *Nāsah Dyah* (a form of śiva). Then they go and play in the city's Palace Square. The playing of instruments is a "notice," telling people in Bhaktapur that nine days of humor and satire are now beginning. The Saṃsthan gives 2,000 Rs, (40 dollars in 1997) towards this. Second, the Guthi Saṃsthan pays for Bhairavnāth's cow. The god's giant cow float is made in the Lachalache neighborhood and is initiated by the head of Bhairavnāth Guthi (Bhairav nayo). The Guthi Saṃsthan gives Rs. 500, or about 10 dollars toward this. Third, *Datātreya* temple gets oil for the Naṭuwā Nāch, a dance that lasts for the nine days of the festival. And fourth, the Wakupati Nārāyaṇ temple also gets oil.

From this sketch of how the troupes formed, we can move to the activities on the day of the festival. On the day of the 1997 festival, I got up early because of all the ruckus on the street the night before. People had begun to celebrate early. Mr. Gongah, his wife, Dhrubi, his daughters, Bunnu and Chunnu, and his son Sanjeev were already awake. For my costume I dressed in traditional Newar dress, while Sanjeev dressed as a tourist, and Mr. Gongah dressed as a "wacky" version of his everyday self. Mrs. Gongah gave us some prasād from the local Ganesh shrine (Siddhi Ganesh), and then Mr. Gongah, Sanjeev, and I headed down to pick up the Peace Corps workers. They were dressed like a deck of cards. We then went over to Mr. Ranjitkār's house and picked up a group of English students and headed over to Bal Ram's house. Here a huge *pujā* was being performed, and the women of the house were grieving. Altogether this took about an hour. We then practiced the dances that go with the festival's music and headed for the procession route. We danced slowly around the city, proceeding past all the most important temples and receiving pråsad from people along the way. Almost the entire population of Bhaktapur lined the route, watching and laughing. Vendors sold toys, food, incense, and other offerings, and a general carnivalesque atmosphere filled the city.

By two o'clock we had completely circumambulated the city and were back at Bal Ram's house. We had a quick feast and then headed for the Gongah's home. On the way we ran into Mrs. Gongah and her two daughters, who dragged me along to the large *Lākulāchhe Tole*, a neighborhood near Taumaḍhi Tole, Bhaktapur's center square. Unlike the other neighborhoods, the people of the *Lākulāche Tole* entered the procession route all at once. They arranged themselves differently than the preceding procession by having all the participating households in that neighborhood enter the procession as one group. This huge group of carnival dancers was joined by anyone in Bhaktapur who wished to participate in the carnival whether or not they were connected to a troupe. They carried a huge bamboo image that resembled the long cow floats but was dressed like Bhairab, a horrible form

of *śiva* (figure 4). Behind these "cows," all Lākulāche Tole's cow floats trailed in a long line up to Darvār Square, where the whole group circled the statue of the Newar King Bhumptindra Malla three times and then disbanded. We then headed back to the Gongah home. In the evening, a small feast was held and we watched first the video that Sanjeev had taken, and then on the eight o'clock news we watched the celebration by other cities. Thus, the days activities came to an end.

Let us now turn to what constitutes a typical troupe. The cow floats vary depending on the age, caste and gender of the deceased. The cows may either be long (for adults) or short (for children). The long cows consist of a cow mask mounted towards the top end of an elaborately-decorated long pole and require four men to carry them (figure 6). For upper castes, the cow float is carried by people who farm portions of the family's land, whereas for middle and lower castes the float is carried by members of the extended family. The short cows, on the other hand, are baskets with a mask attached to them and are usually worn by a male child of the family; however, if a male child is not available other male family members will wear it. Other features of the float's decorations indicate whether the deceased was male or female, what caste they came from, and what activities or food items they preferred (figure 5). These decorations may include photographs,pieces of clothing, prepared food, personal items, and, for children, toys or school books displaying their favorite subject.

Each of the hundreds of Cow Festival troupes engages in the Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twā dance, the participants of which can be broken down into five sections (diagram 1). First, each is led by a group of young children arranged in pairs doing the stick dance (figure 7). As the "*twa*" of Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa is chanted during the quarter rest at the end of the bar, the boys hit their sticks together in unison. Behind the stick dancers comes the second part of the troupe, which consists of costumed pairs of young men (figure 7). These young men repeat symbolic gestures (discussed below) in time with the beat, and not unlike the stick dancers, they momentarily pause on the quarter rest to emphasize a particular gesture. Third comes a group of musicians and other people directly involved in the procession, who chant and play their instruments to Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa. Next comes the cow float itself, and finally come the family members, consisting of the chief mourner, his brothers, the extended family as well as friends and neighbors. At the end of some of the larger processions this group also includes a fringe of women and girls.

Bal Ram's troupe, in which I participated in 1997, while based on this typical form, varied considerably. In Bal Ram's troupe there were 150 people or more. It was the largest troupe of the day and stretched for about 200 meters. At the front was a huge picture of Bal Ram, towering above Bhaktapur and with the mountain peak Langtan at his back (figure 1). The picture had an umbrella over it. It was followed by a group of girls doing the stick dance (figure 8). The girls were followed by people costumed as the ten incarnations of Vishnu (figure 3). These were followed by the "international" Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) group— twenty

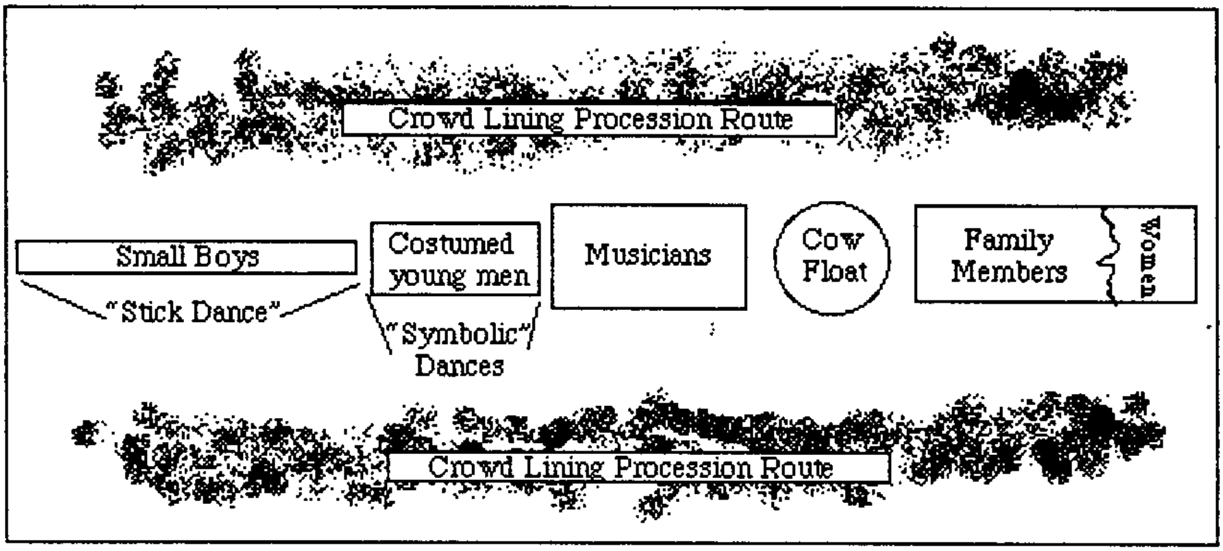

Diagram 1: Layout of Typical Cow Float Troupe

American Peace Corps workers, twentyfive students from England, and some German volunteers from the homeopathic clinic. These were followed by the musicians, which included me, my drum guru, the guru's daughter, Krishna, Ram Hari, the Dhimay guru, and a few other people from the university. Behind us were five girls sprinkling *baji*, dressed in traditional farmer's *hāku parsi* (black saris). Behind this was the cow, or in this case a bull. Behind the bull was the *Bhajan*, a musical group playing Sanskrit songs. And behind this came all the other mourners.

Now that we have looked at the festival proper, let us turn to the second and third main parts. The second part of Gāi Jātra is '*Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa*,' the carnivalesque part of the festival. *Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa* is named after the refrain that is endlessly repeated as the cow troupes circumambulate the city. *Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa's* carnival activities are integral to *Sāyā:* they occur at the same time and in the same physical space as the Cow Festival proper. Moreover, the carnival is integral both to the crowd that lines the procession route, as well as being a fundamental part of the cow float troupes themselves. For *Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twa* men dress up as demons or as monsters and animals under mangy hides. Some wear ludicrous *masks* or cover their faces with white cloth, while others paint their cheeks and foreheads in colored streaks and designs. Men cross-dress, or dress out of their caste.

The revelers' dress can be divided into eight categories:[3] (1) people of all ages costumed as various deities; (2) young boys dressed as sādhus and other ascetics (figure 2); (3) numerous other small boys costumed as Mughal Māhārājā in orange cloth and turbans, a mustache penned above their upper lips; (4) dancers dressed either as photo-snapping tourists, or as American rock stars and Hindi movie actors; (5) people dressed as farmers who repeatedly hoe at the ground in time to the music; (6) people dressed as animals and demons; (7) various obscene costumes. Men dressed as heterosexual couples embrace and move their hips as if engaging in coitus. Other pairs rhythmically bang together large models of penises and vaginas, whacking them together at the "twā." Still other men simply add mock genitalia, such as bananas or cucumbers, to their normal clothes. And a final group of cross- dressers dances beautifully and gracefully by themselves.

The third part of Gāi Jātra is *Gunhipunhi*, which means "nine full days," and is a time of jokes, satire, and social commentary (*khyālah*). It starts the day before *Sāyā* on *Kwāti Purni*, when a troop of musicians plays in Bhaktapur's Durvār Square to notify the public, and lasts nine days until Krishna's birthday. During this time people wear costumes and engage in political and social commentary. People say that the social commentary was much more intense under the Ranas and Panchyat, but even today there is much political satire. Much of this satire takes the form of fake *pujās* and *jātras*. In 1997 these included cartoons satirizing the parliament's submission of an anti-terrorism bill. People also acted out skits lampooning members and leaders of parliament who were involved in misusing medical allowances. Besides these, the Cow Festival's skits have opposed the American support of Israel against the Palestinians, the infighting of the big Nepali political parties, corruption, lack of sanitation, and financial irregularities. Brahmins are also parodied; people engage in absurd and overly complex rituals or tell obscene versions of traditional stories. Tourists and other Westerners are also made fun of; people carry replicas of incredibly large cameras and hand out meaningless money to the crowd. *Gunhipunhi*

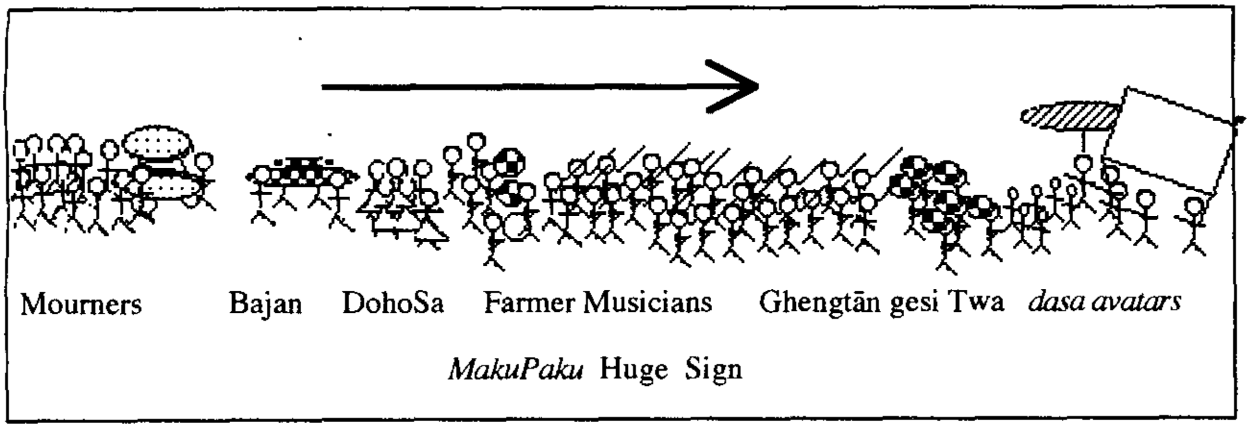

Diagram 2: Bal Ram's Troupe, 1997

comes to a head the evening before Krishna's birthday, when the city again engages in another long night of carnival.

During the evening of the fake festivals people celebrate whatever they want: some create brand new festivals, others undergo fictive rites of passage (saṃskāra) and marriages, and still others celebrate festivals that should be conducted at other times of the year. In a giant cacophony the many different festivals bump and intertwine their way around the procession route. The music and dance alternate between that which is proper for each fake procession and the ever-present beat of *Ghe(n)tān Ghesi(n) twā*. Again, men dress in costume, the satirical element being much more prevalent than during the Cow Festival proper. But come midnight, and the ringing of the bell that marks the start of Krishna's birthday, the period of carnival ends and the city returns to normal.

Notes

1. For partial descriptions see Nepali 1965; Levy 1990; Anderson 1971; Gongah 1996.
2. I have edited the account to make a coherent narrative. Because the account was written down hurriedly at the time of the telling, and not tape recorded, I am unable to give an account of who at the table said what.
3. This schema is based on Levy 1990, 446-450.

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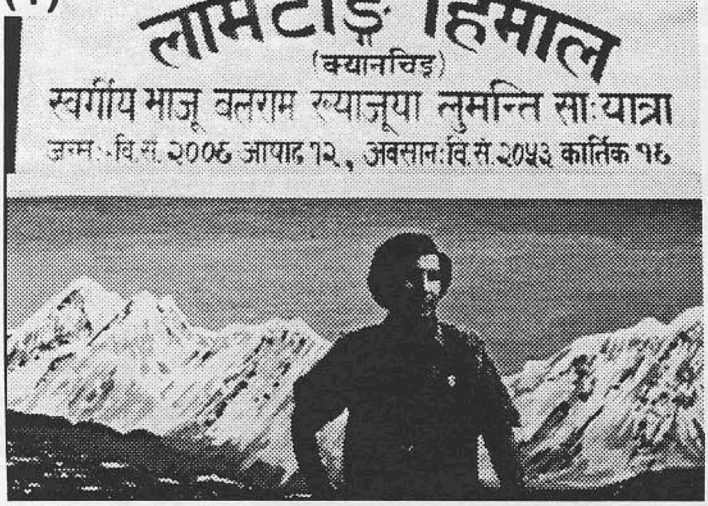
Figures

(1)



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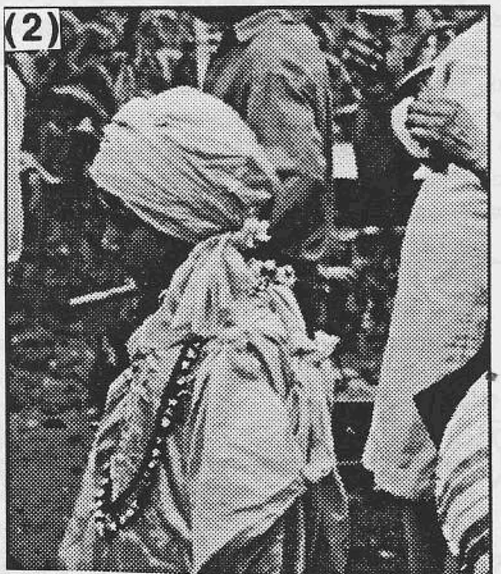

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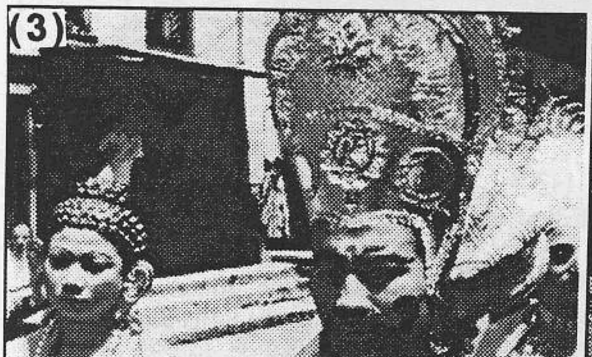

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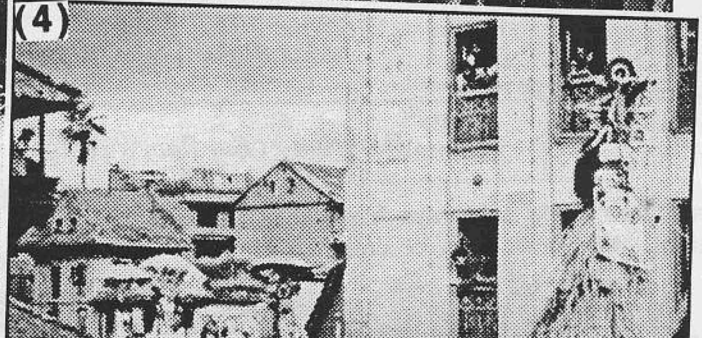
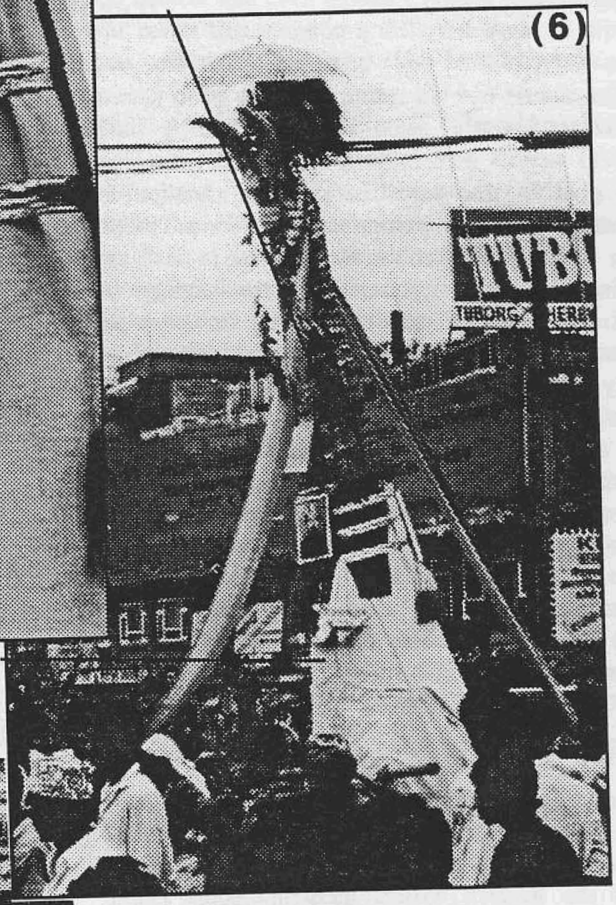


Figures

Figure 1: Photo by S. Gongah
Figure 2: Photo by G. Grieve
Figure 3:Photo by S. Gongah
Figure 4: Photo by S. Gongah



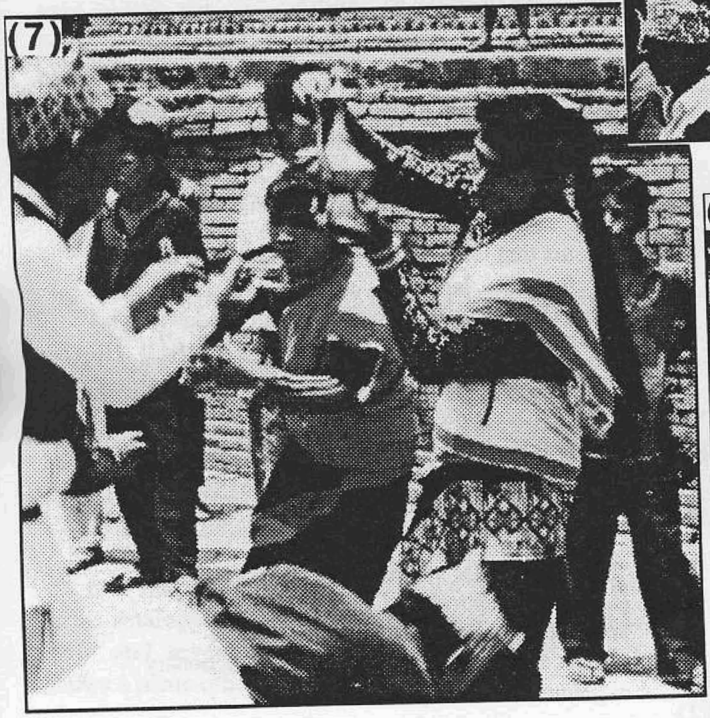


Figure 5: Photo by G. Grieve
Figure 6: Photo by G. Grieve
Figure 7: Photo by S. Gongah
Figure 8: Photo by S. Gongah

In Naming a Language

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Introduction[1]

My goal in this paper is to draw attention to inconsistent use of an appropriate name for a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. The issue I am discussing in this paper is related to the language of Newars. The Newars are considered the principal inhabitants of the Nepal Valley. Their language is currently referred to 'Newari'. According to many native speakers, "Newari" is not an appropriate term. Despite a large number of native speakers' concern, it is still used in the literature. As a native speaker of the language, I would like to express a serious concern on behalf of a large number of native speakers who also do not like to use such an inappropriate term for their language. Besides 'Newari' three other names are also used in literature to denote the language of Newars. Here, I will discuss each of them.

Newāri

For the many decades, the language of Newars has been inappropriately called by the term 'Newari' by most of the western writers including some native writers influenced by them. This inappropriate usage dismayed a large number of native writers who seem to be less known to the western scholars. Many Newars have thus , raised some questions such as: Why has this language been called by an inappropriate term? Is it politically motivated issue or did it happen unknowingly? Is it too late to establish it's original name?

If 'Newari' is not an appropriate term, what is the real name of this language? I assume that there are two reasons why the term 'Newari' has been used to designate the language of Newars.

1. The most of the scholars who had studied the language of the Newars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were non-Tibeto-Burman speakers. They did not recognize the use of the actual name, but instead adopted the one proposed by the non-native speakers.

2. The scholars who were guided by the Indo-Aryan speakers who address any non-Indo-Aryan language by their native language feature.

To analyse these issues, let us look for the earliest use of the word 'Newari' in linguistic study of Newars. Reviewing the history of Newar studies, we find August Conrady's (1891) paper, that was titled in German as **'Das Newari: Grammatik Und Sprachproben'** The paper was based on books and papers written about Nepal that had been already published in European languages[2] .

The very first book published in the European language about Nepal was **'An Account of Kingdom of Nepal'** (1811) written by Col. W. Kirkpatrick. The book mentions the existence of eight major languages in Nepal as follows:

(1)	Purbutti	Newār
	Dhenwar	Muggur
	Kurautte	Howoo or hyoo
	Limbuu	Bhotia

It seems that Col. Kirkpatrick did not use the term 'Newari' for the language of Newars. The term 'Newari'however, can be traced to Brian Hodgson who stayed in Nepal as the British Resident (1820-1843). He studied many Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal and Tibet, and wrote short essays some of which were collected as a book **Essays on Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet** (1874). In one of the essays he wrote:

(2) "The **Newāri** has a small stock of books in the shape of translations and comments from and upon the sacred and exotic literature of the Newars. But the Newari tongue has no dictionary or grammar; " - Hodgson (1874)

I assume that this to be the first use of the term 'Newāri' for the language of Newars. Being the British resident to Nepal, he had interpreters and assistants to aid him in his studies.[3] The Sanskrit Pandits were involved in his works, and they deliberately proposed that Prof. Hodgson use the word 'Newari', which is an Indo-Aryan feature of naming a language. Hodgson's study of language and literature of Nepal was a pioneer step in making the Newar language and literature known to the European scholars at that time. Nepalese intellectuals appreciate this and honor him for his contribution in documenting the written history of Nepal. However, by using the term 'Newāri' for the language of Newars, he also established another issue of concern. Because of this, the name has not been changed to this day. Due to the influence of the linguistic features of the Indo-Aryan languages, he accepted the non-Tibeto-Burman term for naming the language of Newars. This could be the only possible reason for the use of the term 'Newari'.

It is interesting that a well known Oriental expert from Germany, Prof. August Conrady, was inspired to copy Hodgson's use of the term 'Newari'. One of the references he consulted in writing his paper '***Das Newāri Grammatik Und Sprachproben***' is the Sanskrit and Newar blended text '*Hitopadesh*' with comments on Newar language; that was handwritten by Pandit Narayan from Bengal in Nepal Sambat 481/1360. (Malla 1091/1371). This classical text was kept in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. In this book the language of Newars is not addressed by the name 'Newari'.

Similarly, Prof. Cecil Bendall writes his comments on a colophon text to the '*Amarakosh*' dated NS 506/1386 in his '*Catalog of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript in the University Library* (1885):

(3) "Palm-leaf;161 leaves, 5 lines;13 x 2in; dated NS 506(AD 1386) Amarakosh,with Newari commentary called vivitri, by Manikya written in Bhadgaon in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. The first, leaf which contains some prefactory remarks (partly in Vernacular), is much mutilated. The text 'svar vyayan' etc. begins 26"

(Malla NS 1091/1971PP.34)

It is interesting to note that in the appendix of the same catalog book, the original text is copied. The sixth and seventh lines of the original text clearly shows a name other than 'Newari'.

(4) 6th Kritaipā amarakoshya tena **Nepāl bhāshā**-yā
7th vivitrirnām lingānā tippani bāl bodhini ...

From Amarakosh NS 506/1386 PP 26
(Source: Malla NS1091/1971pp. 34)

It is clear that even though Conrady had consulted several books that mention a different name, a slip of the pen occurred in his paper 'Das Newāri...'. Was it intentional or he did so to please his non-Newar fellow scholars? After him several other Europeans such as Sylvan Levi (1905) from France, Sten Konow (1909) from England, and Hans Jorgenson (1935) from Denmark, had undertaken studies on Nepal. Among them Prof. Konow studied phonological and morphological features of the language of Newars and classified under the Sino-Tibetan language family's Tibeto-Himalayan Group as it appeared in Grierson's 'Linguistic Survey of India (1932)'. It is his contribution to identify the language of Newars as a Tibeto- Burman language and it was a bold step in the study of Sino-Tibetan languages. In the meantime, Prof. Hans Jorgenson was continuing his study of classical Newar language. He wrote a dictionary, a grammar and a paper on verbal features. In order to write these books and papers he had consulted 23 (Tamot 1113/ 1993 pp.2) classical texts as well as **the Linguistic survey of India**. Many of the texts he had consulted were from NS481/1360 to 979/1759. Some of his sources were:

(5)	Hitopadesh 1	(NS 481/ 1361AD)
	Chānkyasaṃgrahah	(811 /1691)
	Vaidyaṃga	(831/1712)
	Vetāla paṃchviṃśatikā 2	(921/1801)
	Bhāgvat purāṇa	(971/1851)
	Vetāla paṃchviṃśatikā	(795/1675)
	Nārada smriti	(820/1600)
	Hitopadeś 2	(906/1786)
	Madana binoda	(951/1831)
	Nāmasaṃgati	(979/1759)

None of these texts mentions the term 'Newari' for the language of Newars. However, his books and papers were tilted as follows:

(6) 'A Dictionary of the classical Nevāri' (1963a).
'Linguistic remarks on the verbs in Nevāri'(1936b)
'A Grammar of the classical Nevāri' (1941)

With reference to these studies, the term'Nevari' has been used by several others such as Robert Shafer (1952), Luciao Petech (1958), Seigfred Linhard(1963), K.L. Pike (1969) etc. The scholars who followed them

were Austin Hale (1970), Edward Bendix (1974), Montaro Hashimoto (1977), Ulrike and Bernhard Kolver (1975) in the seventies. All of them did fieldwork in Nepal and recorded oral texts. However, their studies influenced by the earlier classical experts and they used the term 'Nevāri'. Recent studies were done by Scott Delancey (1983), David Hargreaves (1983), R.K. Sprigg (1983), Carol Genetti (1986), Y. Nagano (1986), George Van Driem (1992) and several others. All of them have contributed an extensive library of studies on the Newar language. These studies have made the Newar language an important section in the study of the Tibeto-Burman area of the Himalayan region. The native speakers appreciate their contribution in making the language of Newars known to the world linguists. Neverthless, the language of Newars has been inappropriatly addressed as 'Newari'.

In this way, the tradition of using the term 'Newāri' has been adopted by scholars, one after another. Already a century has passed since the first use of 'Newari' appeared in the history of Newar studies. It will continue until some one points out the mistake. Today a correct term has already been established but no one has pointed out the earlier error of the western literature. In the mean time, however, protest against the inappropriate term 'Newari' has never ceased in the native literature. Unfortunately, Newar scholars such as K.P. Malla, (1973/1979) T.L. Manandhar (1976), T.R. Kansakar (1977), I. Shresthacharya (1977), S. Sthapit (1978), C.D. Shakya (1980), S.K. Joshi (1984), K. Tamot (1984), R.L. Shrestha (1987), and D.R. Shakya (1990) have also used it. Native speakers unintentionally or randomly use more than one term in naming the language without realizing the consequence (Malla 1091/1971; Kansakar 1102/1982). However, when they write in native language they never use the term 'Newari'. But, they make mistakes when they write in English. Although, it was known to them that Newari is not an acceptable term, they never attempted to banish it. Since such usage still continues among some native writers, I believe there is an urgent need for adopting an appropriate term in native and non-native literatures and I hope that such change will appear soon.

Newā: Bhāye

The second term used for the language of Newars is *'Newā: Bhāye'*. Here the word *'Newā:'* or *Newāh* refers to Newars. The word /Newā:/ is a result of the phonological process of deleting the final consonant following the compensatory lengthening (Shakya 1992:19) of the vowel in nominative form as in the following examples;

(7) /Magar/	--->	[maga:]	'Magar'	(people)
/Nepal/	--->	[Nepā:]	'Nepal'	(country)
/Newār/	--->	[Newā:]	'Newar'	(people)
/pasal/	--->	[pasa:]	'Store'	(place)
/jhyāl/	--->	[jhyā:]	'Window'	(object)

Similarly the word 'bhāye' is derived from the Sanskrit term 'bhāsā'. It means language (Malla 1971, Joshi S. 1986, Newami 1987, 1990, 1993). So the term 'Newā Bhāye' refers to the 'Newar language' used in native literature. But the usage of this term is limited to few Newar writers only. Yet the term 'Newā Bhāye' originates from a legitimate native linguistic process, because according to the feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages, a phrase consisting of a word for language and the ethnic name is required to name a language as shown in the following example:

(8)

Name used in Literature	Native Name
Tamang	Tamang Tām
Magar	Magar Dhut
Limbu	Yākthum Pān
Sherpa	Shyarbi lapsye
Newari	Newā Bhāye
Bhutanese	Denzong khā
Tibetan	Pfoe kye

This shows that a name used in the linguistic field is different than the one used by actual native speakers. The ethnic name by itself does not indicate the name of the language. It has to be expressed by a separate term that would denote the meaning 'language' such as 'tām', 'dhut', 'pān', 'lapsye', 'bhāye' and 'khā' and 'kye', in above examples. However, in linguistic field the ethnic name has been used to indicate the ethnic group and also their language for Tamang, Magar, Śerpa and Limbu. But, for the language of Newars the ethnic term 'Newar' by itself is not used instead of 'Newari' (Gellner 1986). Despite the native speakers' concern, the term is still in use. The question is, "How did this term come into use for the language of Newars ?" This would be interesting to investigate the historical facts hidden behind the use of inappropriate term for the language of Newars.

Nepāl Bhāshā

The third name used for this language is 'Nepal Bhāsā'(Sāyami 1986, Newāmi 1985, Genetti 1996). It is a historical term used for the language of Newars. Since the Newars are principle inhabitants of Nepal Valley (presently known as Kathmandu Valley), Nepal Bhāsā indicates the language spoken by them in the valley. This seems to be a term based on the geographical location of native speakers, and is also used in the classical and modern literature, as well in the native newspapers and journals. Many of the historical documents show that this language is addressed by the term "Nepal Bhāsā". The oldest document in this language is "*niyam paribhāsh patrikā* " dated Nepal Sambat 235(1115 AD). It is related to the rules for the monks that was found in Uku Bāhāl Monastery in Lalitpur, Kathmandu, (Tamot 1103, *putra-pautradi*, pp.da). The second oldest one is the inscription dated Nepal Sambat 293 (1173AD) found in Sānkhu Buddhist Monastery. These documents show the oldest example of classical Nepal Bhāsā (Tamot 1099, 1979). In addition to them there are several documents, manuscripts, colophons, inscriptions, palm leaves and literal texts etc. which prove that the language of Newars is 'Nepal Bhāshā' not 'Newari'. Even though there are several historical proofs that indicate that the language of Newars is 'Nepal Bhāsā', westerners and modern Newar scholars often use the term 'Newari'. What is the fact hidden behind the use of term 'Newari'? Why can't we use the original term for this language ?

While investigating the term 'Nepal Bhāsā', we can land on the modern literature that extensively use the classical but the original term. From the very beginning of modern Newār literature, there were institutions, social organization, text books, newspapers, dictionaries, grammar books, dissertations etc. that maintain the usage of the term 'Nepal Bhāshā'such as:

(9)

Nepal Bhāsā Bikās Mandal (1924)	Development Committee, Established in India
Buddha Dharma wa Nepal Bhāsā(1925-30)	The first Literary Journal from India
Nepal Bhāsā Vyākaraṇ, (1928)	A Grammar by Sukraraj Shatri,
Nepal Bhāshā Shabda-Kosh(1956)	A Dictionary by Panna Prashad Joshi
Nepal Bhāsā Patrikā (1955)	The first newspaper
Nepal Bhāsā Pariṣad, (1951)	A Literary Organization
Nepal Bhāsā Mankā Khalah(1979)	A Social Organization
Nepal Bhāsā yā bā Nepal Bhāsā nā(1979)	An analytical book by a native linguist R.Sharma
Nepal Bhāsā Academy (1993)	Recently established Institution
Nepal Bhāsā -yā ādhunik nāṭakyā Pravriti wa pravāha(1992) *"An analysis of Trends and features of the Modern Drama in Nepal Bhāsā"*	Ph.d.Dissertation submitted by C. Vajrāchārya Central Department of Newar Language, TU Kathmandu.

Even though the term; Nepal Bhāshā' is widely used in the native circle literature, the foreign researchers and scholars use the term 'Newāri'. The main reason could be their ignorance. Another reason could be the fact that native literature is not easily intelligible to the foreign scholars. So, their observation is limited to only non-native literature which is easily available in various ways. If any information that is not published in English or other European languages the scholars simply avoided the native scholars' contributions. This native speakers because their concern is not considered properly. Is there any reason why we can't use the term is how the language of Newars has been called by an inappropriate name. It creates a negative impact on 'Nepal Bhāsā' for the language of Newārs? Nepal Bhāsā precisetly indicates the language of Nepal which is the native speakers' homeland and the place of origin. I believe no other proof is required to confirm this fact. Therefore, now it is time for all of the experts from various disciplines to think about what the native speakers want to say about their language and talk about it. Sincerely speaking, on the context of it's historical background, I appeal to the scholars of the world to give full recognition to the language of Newars as 'Nepal Bhāsā' which is correct historically grammatically linguistically or any other respect.

Newār

The forth term used for this language is the word 'Newar' by itself (U. Shrestha 1990, I. Shresthacharya

1990, Hargreaves 1997). This term is not favoured by many scholars. It is also an appropriate one compared to the terms used for other Tibeto-Burman languages listed in (8) above.

To conclude, apparently, the language of Newars has been addressed by several names. In this paper I have presented some historical and linguistic evidences which support that Nepal Bhāshā is the correct name for the language of Newars. The present Nepalese Government has also recognized this fact.[4] Unfortunately, in the international circle, it is still 'Newari'. I believe that it would be an honor to the sentiments of the Newar community as well to adress their language as Nepal Bhāshā. For the recognition of this fact, they have struggled for centuries. Even though the term 'Newari' has been in the use for a long time, it is not too late to establish the genuin name. I believe that the Himalayan linguists will think about it and give a righteous decision. I request all of you to take this matter seriously and consider the native speakers' concern in naming their language. The goal of this paper was just to show some historical evidence of using the term **Nepāl Bhāsā**. Finally, I conclude my discussion by quoting a note from scholars on Nepal Bhāshā.

"In the fall of 1995, the government of Nepal officially changed the language name '**Newāri**' to "**Nepāl Bhāsā**", the name used by themselves. In accordance with this change, we will refer to Newāri as Nepāl Bhāshā ....."

-Carol Genetti and Keith Slater (1996)

Notes

1 The earlier version of this paper was presented in the 3rd Himalayan Languages Symposium, held in the University of California Santa Barbara, July 18-20 1997. I thank all the participants of the symposium for their support on the issue mentioned in this paper, and to Prof. David Hargreaves and Prof. Todd Lewis for their valuable comments on the earlier draft.

2. Col.. K. Patrick.1811. *An Account Of Kingdom Of Nepal*
Hamilton, F.B.1819. *An Account of Kingdom Of Nepal*
Brain Hodgson. 1874 *Essays on Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*
Daniel Wright. 1977. *History of Nepal*
Cecil Bendall. 1885. *Catalog Of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript in the University Library Cambridge*

3. One of his consultant was Amritananda Vandya who was belonged to Śakya family of Patan. Because of his family was involved in Sanskrit literature he was recommended by the then Government of Nepal to assist Prof. Brain Hodgson's studies of Newar language and literature. It is noted by Malla(1980) that Pandit Amritananda wrote a grammatical report (1931) in Nepali for Hodgson that has been kept in the India Office Library in London. This grammatical note is composed of 38 folios with Nepali and Sanskrit glosses on Newar words. Even though he was a Sanskrit scholar he did not use the term 'Newari' in his report. Prof. Hodgson, however, had used the term 'Newari' in his works on Nepalese languages.

4. *"His Majesty's Government has decided to name " Nepal Bhasha" instead of Newari language which is being broadcast in the Government media.*

This decision was taken at a meeting of the council of Ministers held yesterday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari at the Tribhuvan University Teaching Hospital Maharaj Ganj, the council of Ministers Secretariat has disclosed. The Newar Community had been since long demanding that Newari language be called " Nepal Bhasha"

(The Rising Nepal 9/5/1995)

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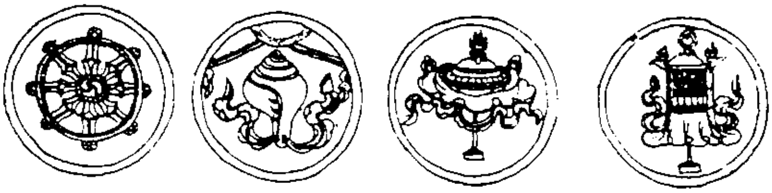
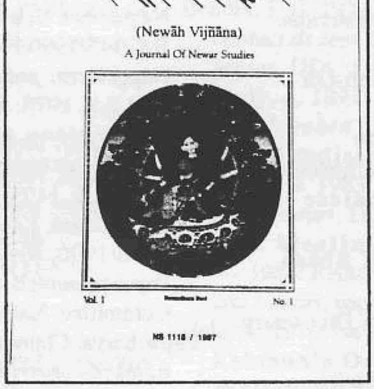


A Review on the First Issue of the 'Newāh Vijñāna'

Prem Lal Chitrakar
Kathmandu

Newāh Vijñāna the Journal of Newar Studies, first published by the International Nepal Bhasha Sevā Samiti, is highly commendable, as well as invaluable for knowing the Newars of Nepal, their language, culture and life style in the Himalayan Kingdom.

The Himalayan landscape, the gorgeous snowcapped mountain peaks and the eye-catching natural flora and fauna are some of the spectacular natural features of Nepal. Similarly, traditional Nepalese arts, culture, architectural skills, and a variety of Newar painting styles, are other notable features of the Kathmandu Valley. Because of these and other factors, the visitors would be highly enthusiastic about the Newars, their culture and tradition. However, owing to the lack of appropriate media the visitors interest have not been fulfilled up to their satisfaction. This journal attempts to reveal the diversified Newar culture based on religion, worshiping of gods and goddesses, and feasts and festivals which have been practiced by Newars for centuries. Under this situation, the publication of the Journal is not only going to be invaluable to the visitors in Nepal, but it will also be beneficial to all the people of the world. Therefore, I would like to extend my congratulations to the publisher of this journal of Newar studies.



The 113 pages long first edition of the journal covers articles, poems, conference paper abstracts, case studies, dissertations and thesis abstracts, They are all related on many aspects of Newars of Nepal and are very interesting and informative. These have been written in English, Nepali, and Nepal Bhasha, and this has made the Journal useful for wider audiences.

According to the Journal rules the articles can be written in any language, but this request seems too vague because of there many languages in Nepal. I believe the submissions to the Journal should be restricted to English, Nepali and Nepal Bhasha, instead of "in any language"(*Nhyāgu Bhashā nā chwoye jyu*). There must be some restriction in language choice in this journal.

I would also like to congratulate the members of the executive committee of the International Nepal Bhasha Sevā Samiti USA, in publishing the first issue of the Journal on the occasion of the Nepal Sambat New Year Day (1st November 1997). Regarding the publication date, it would be good, if it were clearly stated that the Journal will be published on New Year Day (*Mhapujā Khunu Pihān waigu*), instead of on the first day of the new moon in November.

It is still not clear whether the present Journal is an annual or biannual. The word annual is to be mentioned, probably some where on the box, so that people will not be confused.

The Journal is priced at U.S. $ 20 for individual, U.S. $35 for institutions and U.S. $ 10 for students (excluding air mail surcharge). This subscription rate of the Journal is to be considered too costly for the Nepalese living standard, where the value of the U.S. dollar is increasing vis-sa-vis Nepalese rupees. Therefore, the subscription rate of this journal for Europe and U.S.A. should be increased as a subsidy for Nepal and wider audiences.

Similarly the remunerations offered to contributors in Nepal Bhasa writers is also not adequate if high quality articles are to be expected. It should be increased from its present rate of Rs. 500 to Rs.1500 - Rs. 3000 depending on the quality of the materials.

The contributors to the journal are invited to submit writings ranging between 10 to 50 pages. Unless the writing is based on primary sources of information, a 50 page article would be difficult to write. This issue should be seriously considered by the management committee of the journal. A photo portrait of author should appear at the beginning of each article. The editorials of the journal presented in its introduction is highly appreciated. This issue of journal is one of the most reliable bodies of literature about Newars and

their way of life and living.

If I did not write something on the articles of this journal, I would be doing injustice to their contributors. As a reviewer, however, I am supposed to analyze the writings of the journal in detail. To review all aspects of the present Journal, and to analyze all the writings of the journal critically would be very difficult job. Therefore, I will just highlight the main themes of the articles written in English, Nepali and Nepal Bhasha:

Among the articles written in English are the **Jñānamālā Bhajan Khalah** written by former minister Mr. Bhuvan Lal Pradhan. It explains how the Jñānamālā Bhajan Khalah was successful in building up Newar society as well as spreading the teachings of Lord Buddha and Buddhist philosophy through out Nepal and around the world.

Another article is **'Sii Guthi: A Newar Funeral Organization in Kathmandu'** written by Mrs. Juhee Suwal. This article reveals how the funeral ceremony has been arranged under the Sii Guthi organization in the Newar Community of the Kathmandu valley, the seat of ancient culture and civilization of Nepal.

Another feature of this section is an incorporation of the English translation of the poem **"Progress"** written by the late poet Chittadhar 'Hridaya' and translated by Dr. David Hargreaves, the advisor of the Journal. He has put fourth enormous effort in translating the poem.

Another article is **"The Newar Language: A Profile"** written by Prof., Tej R. Kansakar. In this article he describes different aspects of the Newar language, and it should be considered as one of the most comprehensive studies undertaken on Nepal Bhasha as the mother tongue of Newars.

'Nepal Bhasha-Nepali Diglossia: A case study of Udas Newars' language use' by Dr. Uma Shrestha is also an interesting study. It has illustrated the Udas Newars' language use in the context of the multi-lingual society in Kathmandu. According to this study, the use of Nepal Bhasha and Nepali by Udas Newars is patterned and not random. Among the Udas community, Nepal Bhasha is used for communication with family members and with intimates, while Nepali is used for formal purposes.

Another interesting article by Mr. Sudip R. Shakya is **"How far has Nepal, and my Newarness drifted from me?"** This article not only describes different events and ways of life in Kathmandu, but also shows how different Newar communities of Kathmandu perform different rituals. For example, an interesting ritual of Newars is becoming a monk for a week. This sort of transforming into a monk for a week has not been performed in other Newar communities of Nepal.

Now let us focus on the articles in the Nepali section. Altogether, there are three articles under this section. **" An introduction to the Dialects of Nepal Bhasha"** by Mr. Daya Ratna Shakya is one of the research-based articles on Nepal Bhasha which is now spoken by the inhabitants of 69 districts of Nepal. The findings of this study are very useful for the ongoing linguistic research on Nepal and Nepal Bhasha.

'Nepal Sambat and Body worshiping Ceremony' by Mr. Purna Kaji Shakya, is one of the most interesting Nepali language articles. It describes how Nepal Sambat has been introduced by Mr. Shankhadhar 1118 years ago. It also highlights how the body worshiping (mhapujā) ceremony is performed among the Newar communities during the Tihar festival.

Another interesting article of this section is the **'Singha Dhwākhā Palace of Bhaktapur'** by Mr. Lila Bhakta Munakarmi. This article describes how a majestic and magnificent palace square is built by King Bhupatindra Malla of Bhaktapur, during his reign. It reveals the richness of Nepal in terms of its arts, culture and the craftsmanship which flourished, during the Malla period in Nepal.

Finally the most relevant section of the Journal covers two poems and three articles in Nepal Bhasha. The first poem entitled **"Ji Newāh" (I am a Newar)** is written by poet Mr. Durga Lal Shrestha. This poem highlights the fact that he takes pride in being a Newar and is proud of his country.

Another poem is on **"Rāmāyaṇa"** composed by Mr. Achyut Shrestha. In this Nepal Bhasha poem Mr. Shrestha is praying to all the gods and goddesses to give him strength and wisdom for composing the Râmâyaṇa, one of the great classical epics of the Hindu religion.

The article on **"Classical Dance of Nepal"** written by Mr. Chandra Man Munikar is interesting. In this article Mr. Munikar describes the classical dances of Nepal based on religion, gods and goddesses. These classical dances of Nepal are considered as our heritage writes Mr. Munikar.

Thahgu bhāye* Ihānā *tun chwonsā chwoe nā sai by Mr. Darasha Newāmi has one practical values for promotion of Newar language articles. In this article, the writer describes the attitudes of the parents who due to complacence, like to teach Nepali instead of their mother tongue to their children. The writer suggests if people speak their native language, they would also learn to write it.

The last article of this section is ***"Nepal***

Nritatwa Chhapulu" by Mr. Devi Chandra Shrestha. In this article the writer is trying to establish a solid link between the Newar communities of Kathmandu and the Tharu community of the Tarai in Nepal. According to this article *Nepal Nritatwa* (anthropology) and *Nepal Bhāshā* (language) are two windows of the same room, one facing east and other facing west. Unless these two windows are open, the room cannot be brightened.

In conclusion, I, being a member of the Newar community in Kathmandu, appreciate very much, the efforts put forth by the Nepalese living and studying in the United States of America and their creating of this new journal, to disseminate the meaning of Nepalese arts, culture, languages, craftsmanship, paintings, and the lifestyles of Newars.

The contributions made by the distinguished scholars such as Austin Hale, Ulrike Kolver, Todd T. Lewis, Linda Iltis, Ter Ellingson, David Hargreaves, Carol Genetti and David Gellner in promoting Newar studies and their popularization in the western World cannot be underestimated. Similarly, the efforts of the writers in contributing excellent materials to the journal also deserve higher praise.

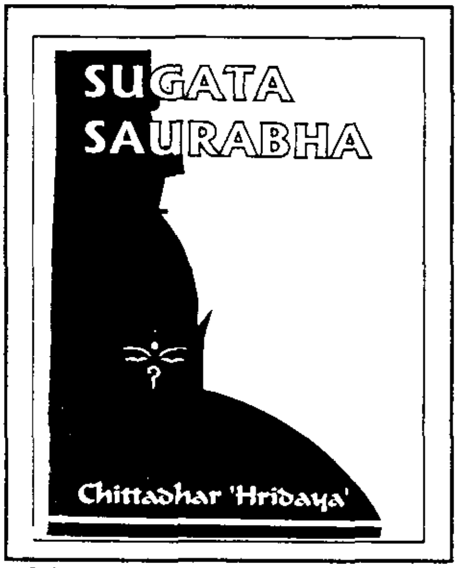
It is also my desire that the Journal 'Newāh Vijñāna' will be continued in the years to come in the 21st century through the coordinated and concerted efforts of the International Nepal Bhasha Sevā Samiti and by the editorial board of the journal. *

An Epic in Nepal Bhasha

Writer

Poet Chittadhar 'Hridaya'

(1949)



Translator

Tirtha Raj Tuladhar

(1998)

Sugat Saurabha,an epic, so full of drama, based on the life of Prince Siddhārtha, who was born in the sylvan setting of Lumbini (west Nepal), and who attained Perfect Knowledge while meditating beneath a bodhi tree at Gaya (North India). It also dwells at some length on the Doctrine of Middle Path so eloquently expounded by him.. An amazing piece of work strictly adhering to the canons laid down by the Sanskrit prosodists of the Classical Age, and following close on the footsteps of Old Masters like Kalidās, Vāṇa and Bhavabhuti, to name just a few,... emblellished with all the attributes which are usually associated with an epic poem, strring the soul to its very depth... above all, words of sober wisdom and magnificent calm which are woven into it gfrom start to finish. It is a splended reaffirmation that the life of the Buddha continues to stir the hearts of poets and sensitive people of lall times and places...

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An Interview with Dhusvāṃ Sāyami

It is a pleasure to present this interview with Dhusvāṃ Sāyami. He is a well known literary figure and a member of Royal Nepal Academy (RNA). He was a founding member of the Cwosā Pāsā, Literary organization founded in 1950. Following the restoration of Constitutional Monarchy, Dhusvāṃ Sāyami emerged as the first Newar writer invited to become a member of the distinguished Royal Nepal Academy. His career as a novelist began with the first Nepal Bhasha Novel *Misā* 'Woman'(1954), followed by several others such as *Matinā* 'Love'(1957), *Pāsā* 'Friend'(1958), Gaṃki 'Alms for Eclipse' (1958), *Mayeju* 'Miss'(1956), *Palpasā* 'Lightening (1958), *Phisahyā Lisah* 'Rejoinder to Phisah' (1958), *Ji Bhwātin Ji Satah* 'I am a servant of our rest house' (1980), *Agati* 'Invisible Soul' (1982), *Mākhā* 'Hen'(1969). Among these novels, Gaṃki has been translated into several languages including English and Hindi. His other works on Nepal Bhasha literature include dramas, poems, short stories and essays; and 'The Lotus and the flame' (1980) is about the cultural heritage of Nepal. On September 1st 1998, he received the honorary title of *Bhāshā Thuwāh* (A Master of Literature) from Nepal Bhasha Parishad for his many contributions to Nepal Bhasha Literature; and he was also awarded the Dr. Krishna Chandra Mishra Award from the Dr. Krishna Chandra Mishra Academy in India for his contribution of Hindi novels and poems. On behalf of Newāh Vijñāna, this interview was conducted by Prof. Uma Shrestha while she was in Nepal during summer 1998, and it is translated into English from the Nepal Bhasha text published in this issue (Page 75) by Mita Shrestha. -Ed. NV= Newāh Vijñāna, DS= Dhusvāṃ Sāyami

NV: Dhusvāṃ Sāyami does not seem like a common traditional Newar name. Where did it come from and how were you inspired to use the last name 'Sāyami' instead of Mānandhar ?

DS: While I was in India, my name was 'Govinda', that caused me to be misrepresented as a native Newar. Then I decided to change my name to Dhusvāṃ, which I thought at that time meant lotus in Newar language. Since *'dhu'* means 'dust' and *'swāṃ'* means 'flower'. I reasoned that *Dhusvāṃ* meants 'Lotus Flower'. I would have named myself *'Paleswāṃ'* , the true meaning for lotus , but I knew very little Newar language at the time. Moreover, people interpreted my name in different ways. Some people thought that I chose the word *'dhu'* in an effort to preserve the Newar language which was being given a low value, like dust. Others viewed *Dhusvāṃ* a combination of incense (dhuṃ) and flower *(svāṃ)*.

I decided to use my last name *'Sāyami'* when I visited my family in Kathmandu after I graduated from high school. My sister-in-law said that people in our caste are named 'Mānandhar' if they are educated and Sāyami if they are not. I resented this greatly and I dreamed that by calling myself 'Sāyami' I would become popular, and that one day the discriminatory view of society toward the less educated Mānandhars would change.

NV: Currently Newar parents pacify their children using Nepali language. So children feel uneasy in speaking their native language. How can we prevent this attitude of avoidance, and what can we do to prevent the growing negligence of native language use among the Newar parents ?

DS: It is true that Newar parents do not encourage their children to speak Newar language . We must ask why should we preserve Newar language when our schools teach solely in the Nepali language. Parents do not encourage Newar language in their homes because they want their children to score well in their exams. If we grow up with two languages we would definitely learn both.

I grew up in the Tarai region speaking Hindi most of the time. My grandfather told me that I would have to learn Newar language in order to marry a Newar girl, otherwise I would have to marry an Indian one. I was scared so I studied the Newar language with great effort, and eventually became an established writer.

NV: How would you view the situation of Nepal Bhasha literature during the Rana, the Panchayat and the New constitution period ? What can we do for further development ?

DS: I was not in Nepal during the Rana period, but I heard that people who wrote in Nepal Bhasha, and sometimes even people who spoke Newar language, were sent to jail.

In 2007 B.S.(1950) I began writing in Newar language. I still remember my first story, *Bhāgya Rekhā*; (A Fortune Line) only the first sentence was in

Newar, the remainder was in Hindi. I received help in the translation of my stories to Nepal Bhasha from Mr. Prem Bahadur Kansakar, who I consider my Newar literature teacher. The principles of the new constitution, which gives value to all native languages, are not practiced by the then government. People are also not making the effort to preserve their mother languages. Though I do feel a need to write in Nepal Bhasha, my desire stems more from my responsibility as a writer than from an inherent passion for preserving my mother language.

NV: Even though there are several Newar Organizations outside the Kathmandu Valley, literature is only circulated and available to the natives of the Kathmandu Valley. These organizations are not encouraged to implement the language and literature in their region. How should Newars handle this situation to spread the Nepal Basha out side of the Valley ?

DS: The Newar language in Kathmandu Valley exists mainly in literature only; the spoken language is limited to a few families. I am afraid to say that some day it may become a dead language like Sanskrit. In places outside of Kathmandu such as Palpa, Dharan, and Pokhara, people are more interested in learning Newar language. If there is a group of Newars they unite only by richness of their culture not by their language. Hence I believe that a success for Newars can only be possible by culture not by the language.

NV: How did you get involved in the literature, was it personal or social influence ?

DS: I never thought of being a Nepal Bhasha writer. No body from my family has done this. When I first went to India I began reading Hindi novels written by Prem Chanda and Sharad Chandra to improve my language skills. At that time, my desire was to be a novelist and focus only on fiction. I began to write in Hindi when I visited my family in Kathmandu.

I met Prem Bahadur Kansakar and Pushpa Lal Shrestha in India while I was studying in Kashi Hindu University (KHU). Mr. Kanskar was working for Dharmodaya journal , and he found out that I was writing in Hindi. So he requested me to write in Nepal Bhasha. As a result, I became a writer as well.

NV: Although you have written the first Nepal Basha Novel "Misā" (A Woman) you are well known through your other Novel 'Gaṃki' (Eclipses). Do you also write other genres of Literature or only focuss on fiction ?

DS: I have written many essays in Newar and Hindi, but now-a-days I write poems because of my physical disability of one of my eyes. I couldn't believe how many poems I wrote. When I counted my poems it turned out to be almost 300 poems in one month, among which many of the Newar ones have since been published. It is, however, easier for me to write Hindi poems; but I am willing to translate for those interested in publishing them. I have a book, Dhusvāṃyā Kabitā , and an audio cassette, 'Dhusvāṃyā Kabitā Sangraha' , which are currently on the market.

NV: Now, at the end of twentieth century many of new literary works and many new authors have appeared. However, in order to meet the quality of world literature Nepal Bhasha has to achieve a lot. How do you evaluate this situation; and how do you think Newar Literature can become more recognized in the literature of the world ?

DS: Since I am a novelist I can't comment on the genre of Nepal Bhasha Novel. However I would like to point out what Krishnachandra Singh Pradhan, a critic writer has made a comment that even Dhusvāṃ himself could not succeed in the compitition of Nepal Bhasha Novel by another Dhusvāṃ. So far as poetry is concerned I have seen lots of qualitative poem writers in Nepal Bhasha. For example Purna Vaidya, Pratisarā Sāyami and Suresh Kiran are highly commendable poets. Many well-known Hindi poets have also made this comment after listening to their poems. Therefore, at least in the field of poetry we should assume that we are not behind in the standard of literature of the world.

NV: It is true that some of the Nepal Bhasha literary works have been translated into English language and Recently poet Chittadhar 'Hridaya's great epic 'Sugata Saurava' has been published in English. Many researchers around the world have shown interest on Newar Language and culture. However a very few people have shown interest to study the Nepal Bhasha literature. What could be the reasons for not taking interest to study this ?

DS: In order to be known in the World, any literary work has to be translated into a language that is known worldwide such as English. It is a great inspiration for us to know that Newar language, culture, and literature were introduced to the world by translating the epic '*Sugat Saurabha* ' into English language. Before that I was thinking about bringing some good pieces of Nepal Bhasha work translating into Hindi language. Mr.

Durga Lal and I are considering the poem *Ghantāghar*, written by Suresh Kiran, into Hindi, Then Nepal Basha literature will be familiar in neighboring countries. It was also suggested by some Indian poets who have visited Kathmandu for literary gatherings. I think the poems which have good and potential value should be translated into other languages and will become popular in foreign languages. But I am not sure how receptive the Newar writers would be to this idea.

NV: How would you evaluate your membership in the Royal Nepal Academy ? Was it a great inspiration or a headache? Have you set any promotional projects for Nepal Bhasha ?

DS: I was very happy when I first started this job but the pressure and stress soon set in and a sharp pain in my neck has developed. But it has inspired me to write many poems. Though there are many Newar poems in the poetry reading, and plenty of Newar language materials, we are not getting enough support from the related department. It is ironic that the constitution provides freedom to write in Nepal Bhasha, but Newar people are not as much co-operative as I hoped.

I was approved, upon my request to publish some Newar poems by the Publication Committee. I asked Suresh Kiran for his poems but I haven't received them yet. The Newars don't utilize their rights. Our plan was to publish the Newar volume first, but because of a lack of preparation we decided to publish the Maithili poems first since they were ready. Despite strong sentiments in building cultural awareness, the Newars lack concerted effort. I came to the department and I have been working hard to promote Nepal Bhasha. As I said in a poetry congress, Newars are their own enemies. I found this to be true in the Academy as well.

NV: We assume that you have seen this journal of Newar Studies 'Newāh Vijñāna, published by concerned and active Newars living in the United States. How would you observe the importance of this Journal in Newar Studies?

DS: Since I haven't read this journal yet I cannot make a specific comment on it. However, I have a great appreciation for those who work for their own culture while living in a foreign country. Once the journal goes in the market, people would know about Newars and their language and culture. Newars are well known for the richness of their culture. I believe world will also learn about their literature eventually.

NV: From our perspective we believe that the time has come to think about a separate discipline of Newar Studies. The Central Department of Nepal Bhasha at Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu will have to extend the breadth of study and not limit it to language and literature only. This extend opportunities for people who have a broader interest in Newar culture. What is your opinion on this matter ?

DS: This is a very good question. I have also been thinking that there should be more than just Newar Language and literature classes. A department of Newar Studies should be established. But I am not in a position to approve such an endeavor. But if I were it, would be very difficult because other ethnic groups of Nepal may feel a loss of equality and object to special treatment to Newars only. Nevertheless, this remains a very important topic for future consideration. *

नेवा: विज्ञान

(नेपाली भाषा खण्ड)

सम्पादकीय[1]

मानवीय प्रवृतीको विकासले अध्ययन क्षेत्र समेटतै गएको फलस्वरुप नेपाल अध्ययनको श्रृङखला पनि बढदै गएको छ । नेपाललाई चार जात छत्तिस वर्णको देश हो भनेर बारम्बार प्रचार गरे पनि चार जात छत्तिस वर्णले समान रुपमा प्रगतीको पथ पहिल्याउने अवसर पाएको देखिन्दैन । सम्बन्धित निकायहरूबाट यथोचित र समान अवसर उपलब्ध नगराएको हुनाले असंतोष व्यक्त गर्दै अधिकाश जनजातीहरु स्वयं आआफ्नो धर्म र संस्कृतिको रक्षामा लाग्न थाले । यस सन्दर्भमा नेवार जातीको संघर्ष कहिलै अन्त भएको देखिन्दैन । एकातर्फ नेवार कलालाई नेपालीकरण गरी बिस्तारीत गरिएको छ भने अर्को तर्फ नेवारहरुको मातृभाषा (नेपाल भाषा) र साहित्यलाई केवल नेवार समुदायबाट पनि संकुचित पारेर अल्पांसमा पार्ने सुनियोजीत सपना देख्न थालेको छ । यसको मूल कारण मातृभाषामा शिक्षा दिने नीतिको अभाव हो । देशमा अनेकौ परिवर्तन आए पनि नेवार भाषा र साहित्यले भोग्दै आएको उपेक्षाको वातावरण कहिलै बिलीन भएन । फलस्वरुप जन्मले नेवार भए पनि कहिलै नेवार जीवन भोग्न नपाउनेहरुको प्रतिशत बढदै गए । जनसंख्याको आधारमा नेवारहरूको संख्या बढदै गएको कहिलै महसुस गराइएन । शिक्षाको कमिले नेवार बालबच्चाहरु आफ्नो भाषा बोल्न र लेख्नबाट बंचित भए । यस्को फलस्वरुप उनिहरु नेवारपनबाट अलग्गिए ।

यो यथार्थ स्थिती बढदै गएपछि विश्वका अधिकांश विश्व विध्यालयमा अध्ययनरत विध्यार्थी र प्राध्यापकबर्ग यस क्षेत्रमा ओइरिए । गत २,३ दशकदेखि नेवार जातीको समृद्ध कला, कृति, भाषा, साहित्य लगायत समाजशास्त्र अन्तर्गतका सम्पूर्ण बिधाहरुलाई समेटेर अनुसंधान गर्न थालेको फल स्वरुप नेवार अध्ययनको सिलसिला फराकिलो हुंदै गएको छ । उनिहरूले नेवार जातीलाई एक महत्वपूर्ण र गहनं अध्ययनको विषय साबित गरिदिए । तर देशभित्रको परिस्थिती हेर्ने हो भने अधिकांश नेवारहरु नेपाल उपत्यका बाहिर बसेको हुनाले आफनो भाषा र साहित्यबाट अलग्गीए । जसको फलस्वरुप उपत्यकाभित्र र बाहिरका नेवारहरुमा एक पर्दा उत्पन्न भएको छ । आपसमा सम्पर्कको लागी अन्य भाषा अप्नाउनु पर्यो । यसबाट नेपाल भाषा संकुचित हुन गए । एक दिन यो मृतभाषा हुन सक्ने संभावना छ ।

देशबाहिर जति नै अध्ययन भए पनि देशभित्र सिथिलताले जरो गाडिदै आएको छ । अल्पांस रुपमा केहि अनुसंधान कार्य भए पनि माध्यमको कमिले व्यापक नभएको देखिन्छ । यसको प्रमुख कारण प्रचार प्रसार हो । त्यसैले गत वर्ष नेपल संवत ११९८ देखि यस नेवा: विज्ञानंको माध्यमबाट देशबाहिर र देशभित्रबाट हुंदै आएको अध्ययन अनुसंधानको कृयाकलापमा केन्द्रित गरी नेवार अध्ययन क्षेत्र बिस्तारित गर्ने सशकृत माध्ययको भूमिका निभाउने उद्देश्य लिईएको छ । यसलाई नेवार अध्ययनमा लाग्नेहरुबाट मात्र होईन नेपालको गौरवलाई समेत फराकिलो मनले हर्नेहरुले यथोचित स्वागत गरेकोले प्रोत्साहित हुनु स्वाभाविक हो । अन्तमा, नव नेपाल संवत ११९९ को सुखद उपलक्षमा यस द्वितीय अङ्क प्रकाशमा ल्याउन सफल भएकोमा समस्त पाठकवर्ग र शुभेच्छुकहरूलाई न्हूदँया भिन्तुनां सहित धन्यवाद टक्र्याउंछौं ।

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[1] *Sampādakiya* " Editirial in Nepali '

म्हपुजा र नेपाल संबतको अन्योन्याश्रित सम्बन्ध छ[1]

सत्यमोहन जोशी
नेपाल लोक साहित्य परिषद
ललितपुर

नेपाल संवत् १०४० (बि.सं.१९७७ बैशाख ३० गते बुधबार) ललितपुर नेउत टोलमा जन्मनु भएका सत्यमोहन जोशी नेपाल भाषा साहित्य तथा कला-संस्कृतिका एक रत्न हुनुहुन्छ ।नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठानका उपकुलपति भई सक्नु भएका श्री जोशीज्यू अन्य सरकारी पदमा कार्यभर सम्हालेर थुप्रै अनुभव बटुली सक्नु भएको छ । गरीमामयी मदन पुस्कार ३ पटक सम्म पाउनु भएका पहिलो नेपाली का रुपमा परिचीत उहां लोक साहित्यविद्, साहित्यकार, अन्वेषक र एक मुद्रा विशेषज्ञका रुपमा पनि चिनीनु हुन्छ । हालै मात्र उहांको भिमरथारोहण (जंको)को बेला पाटनमा उहाँलाई सार्वजनिक अभिनन्दन गरिएको थियो। कर्णाली लोक-संस्कृति खण्ड-१, नेपाली राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा, नेपाली चांड पर्व, नेपाली धातु मूर्तिको बिकासक्रम, जयप्रकाश महाकाव्य र स्वेतचैत्य जस्ता दर्जनौ चर्चित पुस्तकहरूका लेखक श्री जोशीले पटना विश्वविद्यालयबाट उच्च शिक्षा हाशील गर्नु भएको थियो। हाल नेवा: दे दबूका सल्लाहकार रहनु भएका श्रीजोशीसंग समाचारपत्रका संबाद दाता शुभेच्छा बिन्दुले नयां बर्ष नेपाल संवत ११११को उपलक्ष्यमा 'आजको समाचारपत्र'मा प्रकाशित अन्तरवार्ता पाठकहरुको निम्ती पुन: प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। यसको निम्ती हामी समाचारपत्रका सम्पादक मण्डलप्रति आभारी छौ। -सं

तपाईंहरू हरेक वर्ष नेपाल संवत्को नयां वर्ष धुमधाम साथ मनाउनु हुन्छ तर अरू संवत्का वर्षहरू नमनाउनु को कारण के हो ?

अरू संबतलाई हामीले होच्याएका होईनौ । नेसं कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपदा म्हपुजाको दिनवाट शुरु हुन्छ । नेवारहरुको महान चांड म्हपुजाकै दिन ने.सं. पर्छ । म्हपुजा पनि नयां वर्षकै दिन पर्ने भएकोले यस दिन शुभकामनाहरु आदान प्रदान गरिन्छन् । यो दिन शुक्ल पक्षमै मनाईनु पर्छ । कृष्ण पक्षमा होईन । यस दिन संबत फेरिन्छ र म्हपुजा पनि यसै दिन गरिन्छ । म्हपुजा र नेपाल संवतको अन्योन्याश्रीत सम्बन्ध छ । त्यसैकारण ने. सं. मनाउने क्रममा स्वाभाविक रुपमा शहर र सडक जगमगाउने गर्दछ ।

नेपाल संवत्लाई नेवारहरुको संवत् पनि भनिन्छ। के यो नेवार हरु को मात्र संवत् हो ?

संबत नेवार या अरु कुनै जातीको हुंदैन । मल्ल शासनकालमा उपत्यकामा बहुसंख्यक नेवार भएको कारण नेवारहरुको संबत् जस्तो देखिएको हो । कृष्णमन्दिर, भक्तपुरको न्यातपोल लगायत अन्य थुप्रै देवलहरु नेवारहरुले बनाएका छन् । तर त्यो नेवारहरुको मात्र होईन, राष्ट्रिय सम्पति हो । तसर्थ उदार भएर सोच्नु पर्छ । यदि मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्मका जनताको हीत हुन्छ भने त्यस अनुरुप हेर्नुपर्छ । राष्ट्रिय दृष्टीकोणबाट नेपाल संबतलाई लिनु पर्यो ।

नेपाल संबत् शुक्ल संबतकै निरन्तर रुप पनि हो भनिन्छ। यसबारे तपाई के भन्नुहुन्छ ?

मल्लकालमा ने.सं. नै प्रचलीत थियो । राज्यबाटै मान्यता प्राप्त थियो । शाहकालीन शासनदेखि भारतको शक संवत प्रचलीत गरियो । राणा प्रधानमन्त्री चन्द्र शमशेरको पालादेखि बि.सं. ल्याईयो । आफ्नो राष्ट्रियताको गरिमा बोकेको ने.सं.लाई नेवार संवत् भनी गलत प्रचार गरियो । शक संवत लुनार क्यालेण्डर अनुसार हो । तर बि.सं. सोलार क्यालेण्डर गते अनुसार हुन्छ । तर यहांका

[1] *Mha pujā ra Nepāl Sambat ko anyonyāshrit sambandha chha* ' Mha Pujā and Nepal Sambat are related to each other ' –Satya Mohan Joshi (An Interview)

जनजाती तथा चिनीयाहरूले पनि तिथी अनुसार चाड-पर्व मनाउंछन् । नेपाल संवत्को विशेषता पनि यही हो ।

नेपाल संवत् र शक संवतमा के भिन्नता छ ?

शक संवत् चैत्र शुक्ल प्रतिपदाबाट शुरु हुन्छ । तर ने.सं. जस्तै शकसंवत् पनि कार्तिक प्रतिपदाबाट शुरु हुने कारणले मात्र ने.सं.लाई शक संवतको हांगा जस्तो मानिएको हो । तर त्यस्तो होईन, शकसंवत् चैत शुक्ल प्रतिपदाबाट नै शुरु गरेको पाईन्छ ।

नेपाल संवत्लाई राष्ट्रिय मान्यता दिलाउन के गर्नुपर्छ ?

ने. सं.लाई राष्ट्रिय मान्यता दिन सरकार र प्रतिपक्ष सांसदहरुबाट राष्ट्रीय भावना आत्मसात गरी सदनमा प्रस्ताव पारित गरी मान्यता दिईनु पर्छ । मन्त्री परिषद्ले यसलाई अनुमोदन गर्नुपर्छ ।

नेपाल सबत् अब्यबहारिक संबत भनिन्छ , यो कतिको अब्यबहारिक छ ?

ने. सं.मा कहिले छुट हुने कहिले दोहरिने हुन्छ । एकनास हुंदैन वैज्ञानिक भए पनि ब्यबहारिक छैन भने पनि यसलाई कियन गरी व्यबहारिक गर्न सकिन्छ । यसबाट केही बाधा हुंदैन ।

नेपाल संबत् फेरिने तिथिको बारेमा बरोवर विवाद उठने गर्दछ, यस्तो विवाद किन उठेको होला ?

नेपाल संबतलाई याहांका ज्योतिषहरूले व्यबहारिकतामा नहेरी दुईदिनको साईत गरेर विकृति ल्याएका छन् । परम्पराबादीहरुले तीनदिन नै माने, नयाँ संवत् पारू कै दिनमा गर्नुपर्छ । दुईदिनको विवादले नयाँ वर्ष अघिल्लो साल खिचोलामा परेको थियो । तर यो वर्ष यस्तो चर्को विवाद उठेन । म्हपुजा ने.सं.को शुरुकै दिनमा गर्नुपर्छ । एकदिन अघि गर्न हुंदैन । अर्को कुरा राष्ट्रिय संस्कृतिको दृष्टीले ने.सं. ज्यादै महत्वपूर्ण छ ।

नेवाः संस्कृतिमा म्हपुजाको के महत्व छ ? यो पुजा के अरू जातिले पनि गर्नु पर्छ ?

म्हपुजा नेवारहरुको लोकसंस्कृति भए तापनि यस्को आफ्नै दार्शनिक पृष्ठभूमी छ । म्हको अर्थ शरीर भएको हुनाले आत्मपुजाको रुपमा पनि लिईन्छ । शुरूमा मृत्युपछिको रहस्य थाहा नपाएकोले र आफ्नो स्वरुपलाई मानवले बुझ्न नसकी दुःख पाएकोले नै आफैभित्र रहेको अन्तस्करण जागृत गराई चैतन्य रुपमा रहेको आफ्नो स्वरुपको प्रत्यभिज्ञा गर्ने उदेश्यले म्हपुजाको शुरुवात गरियो । म्हपुजा खास गरी आफ्नो शरीरसंग सम्बन्धित रहेकोले आफू भित्र रहेका स्पन्दन, आत्मज्ञान र चेतनासत्ता कै अनुभूति द्वारा आत्मज्ञानतर्फ आभिमुख हुनु यो पर्वको विशेषता हो ।

आफूभित्रको चैतन्य स्वरुपको उत्पति पश्चात् यसले पञ्च तत्वको भौतिक देह प्राप्त गर्छ भन्ने आधारमा यो पुजा गर्दा पञ्चतत्वको प्रतीक बनाई त्यहां 'खेलुईताः' बालेर मण्डलको पुजा गरी आफूलाई आत्मसात गर्नु नै म्हपुजा हो । यसमा न त कुनै देवी देवताको पुजा गरिन्छ न त यस्का लागि गुरु पुरोहित नै चाहिन्छ ।

खासमा " आत्म वा अरे द्रष्टव्य " भन्ने वेद वाक्य बुद्धले र शुकरातले आफूलाई चिन भनी दिएको उपदेशको अमूर्त भावनालाई मुर्तरूपमा ब्यबहारमा उतार्न नै म्हपुजाको प्रचलन भई आएकाले यसमा सबै जात-जाती र ब्यक्तीहरुले सहभागी हुन सक्छन् । आफ्नो शरीरको पूजा गर्नलाई पनि नेवारको मात्र चलन भन्नु युक्तीसंगत देखिंदैन ।

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प्राकृतकालीन नेपाल भाषाको विशेषता एक सारांस[1]

काशीनाथ तमोट
पाटन बहुमुखी क्याम्पस
ललितपुर

वर्तमान कालमा बोलिने नेपाल भाषा हजार वर्षअघि नै बिकास भैसकेको देखिन्छ । यहां प्राकृतकालीन भन्नाले लिच्छबीकालमा बोलिने नेपाल भाषाका बिभिन्न शब्दहरुको बिश्लेषणबाट निर्णय गरिन्छ । प्राचिनकालदेखि लिच्छबी कालसम्म देखापरेका कतिपय शब्दहरुको व्युतपति सम्बन्ध अझै स्पष्ट नभएको देखिए तापनि आठौ शताब्दी देखि चौधौं शताब्दीसम्म यस भाषामा धेरै परिर्वतन आएको महशुस हुन्छ ।

नेपाल भाषाको शुरुआतको इतिहास खोताल्दा चारहजार वर्षअघि नै यस भाषाले आफ्नो रुप लिई सकेको देखिन्छ । हालसम्मको अध्ययन अनुसंधानबाट थाहा भए अनुसार नेपाल भाषाले स्वतन्त्र रुप इशापूर्व २२०० वर्ष देखि नै कायम गर्न थालेको थियो । यस हिसाबले नेपाल भाषाको इतिहास चार हजार बर्षसम्म पुग्न सकिन्छ । यस भाषाको ब्युत्पति आर्य भाषाभन्दा धेरै बर्ष अघि नै भै सकेको थियो । इशा. पूर्व ५०९ देखि इशा.१००० सम्मको समयमा नेपाल भाषा समृद्ध भई बोलचालको भाषाको रुप लिईसकेको थियो । नेपाल भाषभित्र पनि इशा. ० देखि ५०० सम्ममा सौरसेनी, पैचासी र मानवीय प्रभाव परिसकेको थियो । त्यसपछि नेपाल भाषाको अपभ्रंस काल शुरु हुन्छ । यसभन्दा अघिको सम्मयलाई बौद्धिककाल भनिन्छ ।

इशा.पूर्वको समयलाई प्रचीनकाल भने जस्तै इशाकालीन दशौं शताब्दी सम्मको समयावधीलाई प्राकृतकाल भनिन्छ । प्राचीन बौद्धिक कालदेखि प्राकृत भएर आधुनिक कालसम्ममा अनेकौ शव्द निर्माण मात्र भएको होईन लोप पनि भै सकेको देखिन्छ । कतिपय शव्दहरु अपभ्रंसित रुप लिईसकेको पनि देखिन्छ । नेपाल भाषाको श्रोत तिब्बती बर्मी परिवार हो । तत्कालीन तिब्बती सभ्यता नेपालको सभ्यताभन्दा पछि परेकोले कतिपय शव्दहरु या त तिब्बतबाट नेपालमा भित्रीए या नेपालबाट तिब्बतमा निर्यात गरिए । यस विषयको खास कुरा पत्ता लगाउनु एक महत्वपूर्ण अनुसंधानको विषय बनेको छ ।   -सन्ध्या टाईम्स ३:२४० (७।१।९८)

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[1] *Prākritkālin Nepāl Bhāshā ko viśeṣatā ek sārāmsa.* 'Features of the prākrit period Nepal Bhasha' by Kashinath Tamot. It is translated from a report published in Nepal Bhasha daily newspaper "Sandhya Times (7/1/98).

ओझेलमा परेको पोखराको नेवार संस्कृति[१]

विश्व शाक्य
पोखरा, नेपाल

(The article discusses the Newar cultural festivals of Pokhara Valley in west Nepal. The writer believes that the festivals described here such as the Twelve Bhairav Dance, Tayamacha dance and Bagha Jatra are brought from Bhaktapur -ed.)

पोखरा, नेपालको पश्चिम पहाडी भेगमा अवस्थित एउटा रमणीय र पर्यटकीय नगर हो । प्राकृतिक सम्पदाले पोखरा जती सम्पन्न छ सांस्कृतिक सम्पदामा पनि यस नगरको आफ्नै विशेषता छ । यहां नेवार, थकाली, गुरुङ र मगर जातीको सांस्कृतिक सम्पदाले यस क्षेत्रको परिचय दिन्छ । काठमाडौ, पाटन र भक्तपुर शहरबाट आएका नेवार जातीले आफ्नो संस्कृति र परम्परालाई पोखरामा स्थापित गर्न ठूलो योगदान पुर-याउंदै आएको छ । यी सम्पदालाई हालसम्म पनि जीवीत राखेर पोखरालाई धनी बनाउने निम्न लिखीत सास्कृतिक नाच-गानहरुको परिचय दिने आशय यस छोटो लेखमा लिईएको छ ।

भैरव नृत्यः

भैरब नाच पोखराको विशिष्ट सांस्कृतिक सम्पदा हो । राजा रणजीत मल्लको राज्यकालमा समेत भक्तपुरमा प्रदशर्न गराईने यस नृत्य गुरु-चेला परम्परानुसार अध्यावधि पोखरामा संचालन हुंदै आएको छ । यो भैरव नृत्य पोखरामा कहिलेदेखि शुरु गरिएको हो निश्चित रुपमा जानकारी पाउन सकिएको छैन । रणजीत मल्लको शासनकाल अन्त भएपछि भक्तपुर बाहिर निर्वासित भक्तपुर वासीहरुले आफ्नो संस्कृतिको जर्गेना गर्ने क्रममा पोखरामा यस नृत्यको आयोजना गर्ने परम्परा बसालिएको कुरा यस नृत्यसंग सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिहरुको भनाई छ ।

पोखरामा भैरब नृत्यको थालनी गोरखा राईनासटार (हाल लम्जुङ जिल्ला अन्तर्गत पर्दछ) का एकजना व्यक्ती यसै इलाकामा सुब्बाको जागीरमा हुंदा गरिएको हो भन्ने जनश्रुति छ । तीनैका एक सन्तती सन्तबीर भन्ने नाउं गरेका पुजारी यस भेगमा रहने गरेको

[1] *Ojhelmā pareko Pokharāko Newar Sanskriti* " Forgotten Newar Culture of the Pokhara Valley" by Vishwa Shakya).

कुरा बि.सं. १९८६ तिर भैरव नृत्यका बयोवद्ध सहभागी समरबहादुर बजिमयबाट थाहा हुन आएको छ । काली, बुढी, इन्द्रायणी र बारा चार भैरब अनि चार जना देवीहरुमा कुमारी, विष्णुवी, गंगाजु र ब्रम्हायणीका साथै गणेश, दागीनी, बौसी र कहंचा भुच्चा (बोक्सीका छोराहरू) गरी जम्मा बाहजना देव-देवीहरुलाई तान्त्रिक बिधि-बिधानुसार अधिस्थान गराई नृत्य संचालन गर्ने परम्परा रहेको छ । तन्त्र साधनानुसार नृत्य संचालन गरिने हुंदा मुकुट लगाएका नर्तकहरुलाई देव-देवता स्वरूप मानी पुजा समेत गरिने परम्परा बस्दै आएको छ ।

नृत्यमा प्रयुक्त रागका बोलहरु सम्पूर्ण नेपाल भाषामा नै रहेको छ । ती बोलहरुमा कतै कतै राजा रणजीत मल्लको नाउं उल्लेख भएको पाईन्छ । भैरब नृत्य जनै पूर्णिमा पछि मात्र प्रदर्शन गराईने परम्परा रहेको छ । पहिला पहिला बाहवर्षमा एकपटक देखाईने चलन रहेको थियो पछि २०१५ सालदेखि प्रत्येक छवर्षमा प्रदर्शन गराउंदै आएको छ । शुरु शुरुमा आर्थिक स्रोत र साधनको अभाव भएकोले चोयाँ र भकारीबाट निर्मित मुकुटको प्रयोग गरिन्थो भने बि.सं. १९५० देखि धातुको मुकुट बनाएर यस नृत्यलाई दिगो बनाउने प्रयास गरिएको थियो । यस नृत्यले पोखरा भेगको नेवार सांस्कृतिक सम्पदा संरक्षण गर्नमा ठूलो योगदान पु-याउंदै आएको छ ।

तायामचा नाचः-

भैरव नृत्यपछि जनै पुर्णिमाको बेला पूर्णे देखि कृष्णाष्टमीको दिनसम्ममा नचाइने ' तायामचा नाच ' पोखराका नेवार समुदायको मौलिक संस्कृतिको एक नमुना हो । चलचित्रको संसार शुरुहुनुअघि तायामचा नाच पोखरा र वरपरको पहाडी भेगको जनजीवन लाई मनोरंजन पु-याउंने प्रमुख पर्वको रुपमा रहेको छ । अहिले टी.भी. र सिनेमाको युग मा त्यो मनोरंजन पक्ष लोप हुंदै गए पनि सांस्कृतिक पक्ष जीवीत नै छ । प्रत्येक वर्ष जनै पुर्णिमाको भोलि पल्ट गाई जात्रा (सापारु) को दिन टोल-टोलबाट ' तायामचां नाच निकालिन्छ । यस नाचमा चार जना परीहरु र एक जना जोकर (हास्य पात्र) हुन्छन् । जोकर लाई ठेट भाषामा 'लोख्खर पांडे ' भनिन्छ । यो नृत्यको खास विशेषता नृत्य गर्ने नर्तकहरुको अगाडी एउटा अग्लो बांसको क्रस जस्तो पारेर दुबैतिर स्वास्नीमान्छेहरुले लगाउने ५-७ वटा चोलोहरु झुण्ड्याईएको हुन्छ । बीचमा गाईको टाउको आकारको बनाईएको हुन्छ । नाचको अघि अघि यस्ता सामग्री बोकेका मान्छेहरू हिंडने हुन्छन् । यही अग्लो लामो चोलिहरु झुण्ड्याईएको सामग्रीलाई नै 'तायामचां भनिने गर्दछ । जनै पूर्णे भन्दा अगाधि देहावसान भएको परिवारका कुनै पनि व्यक्तीको नाममा मृतकको पूण आत्मा शान्तीको कामना गरी सदिच्छा राखी मृतकका परिवारहरुबाट यस्तो तायामचा बनाएर नाचमा सम्मिलीत गराउंने परम्परा छ ।

आजभोलि यी ताया मचा नाच संग संगै सम्पन्न घरनियाँहरुले आफ्ना मृतकजनहरुको पुण्य कामना गर्दै राम लक्ष्मण, सीता

कृष्ण राधिका हनुमान नारद जम्बुवान ब्रह्मा विष्णु महादेव आदि देवी देवताको लावा लस्करका साथ गाईको बाछोलाई अघि आघि लगाई त्यसको पछि मृत व्यक्तीको फोटो सम्बन्धितहरुबाट बोकाई बजार परिक्रमा गराईन्छ । त्यसलाई रामायण निकाल्ने भनिन्छ । यो परम्पराको थालनी पोखरामा चार-पाँचदशक अगाडीदेखि मात्र प्रारम्भ भएको बुझिन्छ ।

बाघ जात्रा:-

भैरव नृत्य र तायामचा नृत्यपछि बाघ जात्रा पोखरेली नेवारले स्थापित गरेको अर्को मौलिक सांस्कृतिक सम्पदा हो । यो नृत्य संचालनको कुनै निश्चित समयावधि हुंदैन । वुढा पाकाहरुको भनाई अनुसार बाघको आतंक फैलिएकोले यो जात्राको आयोजना गर्ने गरिएको बुझिएको छ । जात्राको आयोजनाको कारण मानिसहरु रातभर यत्र तत्र घुमफिर गर्ने हुंदा मान्छेको डरले बाघ भाग्ने हुंदा पनि वुढा पाकाहरुले यो बाघ जात्राको आयोजना गरेको हुन सक्दछ ।

तायामचा नाच जस्तो बाघ जात्रा टोल टोलबाट निकालिन्न । समस्त नगर वासीहरुको सहयोगबाट यो नाच निकालिन्छ । नाच निकाल्ने निर्णय जनै पुर्णिमा भित्र गरेकै हुनु पर्छ । नाच निकाल्ने तीनदिन अगाडी नगरको चारै सिमाना क्षेत्रसम्म नगडा वा ढोलक बजाउंदै रिसिल्लाहरू पठाई नगर वासीहरुलाई जानकारी दिनुपर्ने हुन्छ । बाघ जात्रा को क्रममा आयोजना हुने नृत्य कार्यक्रम कम्तीमा दुईदिन र बढीमा चार दिनसम्म आयोजना गर्ने गरिन्छ कृष्ण जनमाष्टमीको अघिल्लो दिन बाघ (नृत्यमा) मारिएकै हुनु पर्द छ । बाघ मरेपछि बाघको जात्राको सम्पूर्ण कार्यक्रम समापन हुन्छ । बाघ जतिखेर पायो त्यती खेर र जसले पायो उसले मार्न पाउंदैन बाघ मार्ने समय ज्योतिषबाट मुर्हुत गरिएको हुन्छ र बाघ जात्राको 'राजाले मात्र मार्दछ ।

बाघ जात्रामा प्रमुख रुपमा घोडे नाच नचाइन्छ । तायामचामा नचाइने जस्ता नर्तकहरु पनि नचाईन्छ । बाघ जात्रामा बजाईने ताल प्राय भैरव नाचको तालमा मिल्ने हुन्छ । नृत्यमा राजा र रानी लगायत बाघको सिकारमा गएका सहयोगी ख्यालीहरू (जसलाई ठेटभाषामा ' होमाले' भनिन्छ) सम्मिलित हुन्छन् । बाजाको तालअनुसार नाचगान ख्याल ठट्टाको बीचमा ख्यालीहरुले बाघलाई घेराभित्र पारिसकेपछि निर्दिष्ट समय र तालमा 'राजाले' बाघ मार्छन् । नाचको बाघ मरे पछि बाघ नाच निकाल्नेको क्षेत्रमा आतङक शाम्य हुने बिश्वास गरिन्छ ।

यी नै विविध साँस्कृतिक सम्पदाले पोखराको प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्यमा सुनमाथि सुगन्ध थप्ने काम भएको छ । तर, आफ्नो अमूल्य सम्पदाको पहिचान आफैले गर्न नसक्दा पोखरेलीहरुले यी सांस्कृतिक धरोहरहरुलाई ओझेलमा पारेका छन् ।

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नेपाल संबतबारे व्यक्त गरिएका मनतब्य

"पुनीत कार्यको स्मृतिमा नेपाल सम्बतको प्रचलन भएको हो । त्यसैले यसभित्र अन्तर्निहित परोपकारको भावना र मानवीय आदर्शको पनि हामीले स्मरण गर्नुपर्छ ।" -गिरिजा प्रसाद कोइराला

" नेपालको आफ्नै संबत् एउटा चल्तीमा ल्याउनु पर्नेछ । यसमा अध्ययन होओस् ।" -राजेश्वर देवकोटा

"जातीय संस्कृतिका रुपमा आ-आफ्ना विशिष्टताका साथ नेपाली भावधारामा एकाकार बन्दै गईरहेको नेपाली सांस्कृतिक परम्पराभित्र नेपाल संबत् पनि पर्दछ ।" -सहाना प्रधान

" नेपालको मौलिक संस्कृतिसंग प्रत्यक्ष रुपले सम्बन्धित यस नेपाल संबत्को संबत्सर परिवर्तनका दिन शुभकामना व्यक्त गर्नुलाई हामी राष्ट्रीय भावनाको अभिव्यक्त हो भन्ने ठान्दछौं ।" -मन मोहन अधिकारी, माधवकुमार नेपाल

" नेपाल संबत् १११९को आगमन गराउने सन्दर्भमा नेपालल्याई जिवनोपयोगी, शाश्वत, आदर्श,र मान्यतारूपी मार्गको अनुशरण गराई यो संबत् मनाइने परम्परा कायम रहिरहोस् भन्ने कामना गर्दछु ।" -सूर्यबहादुर थापा

" नेपाली नागरिकले राष्ट्र र जनताको सेवा गर्ने प्रेरणा यो नेपाल संबत्को इतिहासमा लुकेको भावनाबाट लिन सक्छौ ।" -भक्तीदाश श्रेष्ठ

" नेपाल संबत नेपाल देशको नामबाट जनताद्वारा स्थापित संबत् भएको कारणले यसको राष्ट्रीय महत्त्व पनि उत्तिकै छ ।" -केशव स्थापित

" नेपाल संबत् कुनै जाती विशेषको मात्र संबत नभई नेपालको मौलिक र राष्ट्रीय सम्बत हो भन्ने कुरा सम्बवत: इतिहासबाट प्रष्टभैसकेको छ ।" -उत्तम नारायण श्रेष्ठ

(साभार: साप्ताहिक समाचार)

भक्तपुरको वसन्तपुर दरवार[1]

लीलाभक्त मुनकर्मी
भक्तपुर

(The writer of this articles Mr. Lilabhakta Munakarmi discovered the location of the Basantapur Royal Palace in Bhaktapur. According to him this palace was built by a Newar King Jagat Pakash Malla (NS 765-793) and it was damaged by the earthquake of NS 801. It was renovated by King Bhupatindra Malla and again destroyed by another earthquake in NS1053. Currently, the Sri Padma High School is located in this place. It is proved by the bricks found in this area while constructing the present school building -Ed.)

भक्तपुरका राजा नरेश मल्लका छोरा जगत प्रकाश मल्लको राज्य काल ने.सं. ७६५- ७९३ सम्म थियो । यस २८ वर्षको राज्यकालमा उनले धेरै निर्माण कार्यहरु गराएका थिए । त्यसमध्ये बसन्तपुर दरवार राज प्रासाद पनि एक हो । त्यो राजदरवार ९ तल्लाको रहेकोले बिशाल देखिन्थ्यो । त्यसको ईलाका पश्चिममा खौमा टोल र उत्तरमा ब्यासी टोलसम्म पुगेको थियो अनि पूर्वमा भण्डारखालको चौकोट दरवारमा जोडेको थियो भने दक्षिणमा लायकूको मूल बाटोसम्म पुगेको थियो ।

यो राजप्रासादमा प्रत्येक वर्ष श्री पंचमीको दिनमा बसन्तराग श्रवण गराईने हुनाले बसन्तपुर दरवार हुनगएको हो भन्ने अडकल लगाईएको छ । यसै दरवारलाई बसन्त विहार पनि भनिन्छ । यहांबाट तलेजु मन्दिरमा जाने बाटो पनि बनाईएको थियो । यस राजप्रासादमा धेरै चोकहरु र प्रवेशद्वारु पनि थिए । यहांका अधिकांश कोठाहरुमा बहुमूल्य सामानहरुले सिंगारिएको थियो । त्यहां नाच गानको प्रर्दशन गर्ने रंगशाला पनि बनाईएको थियो । त्यसको तयारीको निम्ती संगीत र नृत्य अभ्यासको लागी कक्षाहरुको व्यबस्था पनि थियो । त्यसैले यस बसन्तपुर दरवारमा हरबखत संगीतकार नाटककार र नृत्यकारहरुको जमघट भई रहन्थ्यो । यस बाहेक यहां युवती तथा रानीहरूको निम्ती बनाईएका आमोद प्रमोदका सामग्रीहरुबाट परिपूर्ण थियो । तर यस दरवार नेसं ८०१मा आएको भूकम्पबाट नष्ट भएको थियो । राजा रणजीत मल्लले पुनः यसको जिर्णोध्दार गरेको कुरा ठ्या सफूमा उल्लेख गरेको पाईन्छ । पछि उनका छोरा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लले पनि ने.सं. ८२७मा यो राज दरवार पुनः जिर्णोद्धार गराएका थिए । प्रवेशद्वारमा रहेको सिंहको जोडालाई कायम नै राखि दांया तर्फ श्री उग्रचण्डी भगवतीको मूर्ति र बांया तर्फ श्री भैरवका मूर्ति प्रतिस्थापन गराएका थिए भने ढोका माथि कलापूर्ण तोरण समेत बनाउन लगाएका थिए । ती मुर्तीहरू प्रवेष द्वारमा अध्यावती छंदै छन् । यस कुराको उल्लेख डनियल राईटको पुस्तकमा पनि पाईन्छ । तर उक्त चित्रमा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लको दरवारको ढोका भनिएको छ । जो उनको शासन कालभन्दा पहिले बनाएका थिए । सोही दांया तर्फ श्री उग्र चण्डी भगवतीको पाद पीठमा कोरिएको अभिलेख यस प्रकारको छ :-

> ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्री ३ उग्रचण्डी देवी स मुर्ती श्री श्री जय भुपतीन्द्र मल्ल देव सेन प्रतिस्थापना याङ जुरो ॥
> संबत वैशाख शुक्ल अक्षय तृतिया रोहनी नक्षेत्र अति गण्ड योगे मेष सूर्य चन्द्र बुधबार थ्व कुनु दिन शुभ सर्वद ॥

बांया तर्फ रहेको श्री भैरबको आभिलेख:

> ॐ स्वस्ति । श्री भैरव मुर्ति श्री श्री जय भुपतिन्द्र मल्ल देव सन दयेका व प्रतिस्था याङ जुरो ।
> सम्बत ८२७ वैशाख शुक्ल अक्षय तृतीया रोहनी नक्षत्र अति गण्ड योगे मेष सूर्य वृष चन्द्र थ्व कुनदिन । शुभ अस्तु सर्वद ॥

[1] *Bhakatpur ko basantapur daravar* (The Basantapur palace of Bhaktapur) by Lila Bhakta Munakarmi

राजा भुपतीन्द्र मल्लले बराबर जिर्णोद्धार र संभार गराई राखेको बसन्तपुर दरवार मल्लकाल टुटे पछि पनि कायम नै थियो । तर उक्त राजदरवार नेसं १०५३ वा बिसं १९९० मा आएको महाभुकंपले जगसम्म भत्केर समथल भई पहाडको रुपमा प्रलय भयो । पछि भक्तपुरमा बडाहाकिम भएर आएका ध्रुब शमशेर जबराले त्यस स्थान र अरु समथल जग्गामा इंटा ढुंगा सबै निकालेर काठ र झ्यालका तोरणहरु भान्छा घरमा आगो बाल्नको निम्ती चलाउन लगाए । त्यस ठाउंमा सुन्तला, भोगटे र अरु जातका फल-फूलको बिरुवा रोपी बगैचा बनाउन लगाए । सो बगैचाको रेख देख गर्न नाईके पनि नियुक्त गरेका थिए । तर रानाकाल टुटदै गए पछि उक्त बगैचाको हेरचाह गर्नेहरू नरहे पछि सो बगैचा पुन: समथल जग्गामा परिणत भए ।

बि.सं. २००३ साल तिर भ.पु. तपालाछि टोलमा स्थापना भएको श्री पद्म हाई स्कूलको घर कोठाहरु जीर्ण अवस्थामा रहेकोले सो स्कूल निर्माण गर्न यही समतल भएको बसन्तपुर दरवारको जग्गा रोजिएको थियो । तर नेपाल सरकारद्वारा नियुक्त भ.पु. निर्माण कार्यालयका हाकिम खर्दार उपेन्द्रराज प्रधानाङ (जैमल खरदार) ले उक्त जग्गामा बसन्तपुर दरवार नै निमार्ण गनुपर्छ भन्ने राय ब्यक्त गरेपछि उनको बिरुद्धमा नारा लगाई प्रदर्शन गरेका थिए । अन्त्यमा पाताल अवस्थामा रहेको उक्त स्थानमा श्री पद्महाई स्कूलको कक्षा शुभारम्भ गराएर तपालाछी टोल अवस्थित श्री पद्म हाई स्कूल नयां निर्मीत भवनमा सारियो । उक्त स्कूल भवन बनाउंदा जग खनेको बेलामा ४, ५ फुट लामो ठूल ठूला इंट र ढुंगाहरु भेटीएका थिए । त्यस्ता ठुल ठुला ढुंगाहरु अहिले पनि भेटिन्छन् भन्ने जनश्रुती छ ।

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सिक्किममा नेवार भाषाको पाठशाला शुरु

गान्तोक २१ सेप्तेम्बर १९९७ राज्यमा प्रथम पल्ट पूर्व सिक्किमको रिनाकमा गत १ सेप्तेम्बर १९९७ देखि राज्यको प्रथम नेवार भाषाको पाठशाला शुरू गरिएको जानकारी नेवार गुठीका प्रचार सचिव आर. के. प्रधानले दएका छन् । रिनाकको आरीटार मिडील क्याम्प पाठशालामा ८० प्रतिशत विध्यार्थीहरू नेवार समुदायका भएको र यी विध्यार्थीहरूलाई लिएर यसै पाठशालाको एउटा कक्षमा नेवार भाषाको शिक्षा दिन शुरु गरिएको श्री प्रधानले जनाए पाठशालाका प्रधान अध्यापक सोनम भोटीयाले नेवार भाषामा पढाईने यो कक्षा खोल्न विषेश सहायता पु-याएकोमा श्री प्रधानले गुठीको पक्षबाट कृतज्ञता ब्यक्त गरेका छन् ।

उल्लेखनीय छ. राज्यको एस.डी.एफ सरकारले राज्यभाषाको रुपमा मान्यता प्रदान गरेका भाषाहरुमध्ये नेवार भषा पनि एउटा हो । सरकारले मान्यता प्राप्त प्रत्येक भाषाको विकासको निम्ती प्रत्येकलाई ५०-५० हजार रुपियाँ अनुदान दिएको थियो । यसै रकमबाट उक्त नेवार भाषाकी शिक्षिकालाई प्रति महिना वेतन दिइने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ । गुठीका सभापति सुन्दर कुमार प्रधान, सचिव गणेश प्रधान, उप-सचिव पुष्पलाल प्रधानले नेवार भाषामा शिक्षा दिने व्यबस्था गर्न विशेष भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको कुरा पनि श्री प्रधानले बताउनु भयो ।

(हाम्रा प्रतिनिधि श्री योगबीर शाक्यको सौजन्यबाट प्राप्त समाचार)

म नेवार कहिल्यै भईन[१]

मंजु हाडा
सं.रा.अ.

(The writer Manju Hada writes her past memory of not being able to maintain the Newar life style even though she was born in Newar family in the Tarai region. She loves the Newar culture. However, her situation did not allow her to learn the Newar culture. So she thinks that she never became Newar at all - Ed

आफु जन्मेको ठाउं आफ्नो संस्कृति रीति रिवाज आफ्नो अमूल्य धरौटी हो । आफ्नो संस्कार र परम्परालाई जोगाउन मानव जातिले कतिपय संघर्ष गर्दै गरेको कथा कहानी हामी सुन्छौं । मेरो जन्म जनकपुर अंचलको सर्लाही जिल्लाको मलंगवा भन्ने गाउंमा भएको थियो । मेरो बचपन मलाई सम्झना भए अनुसार बिभिन्न जातीको समुदायमा बितेको थियो । भनौ भने नेवार, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री, मधिसेको मिश्रणमा मेरो लालन-पालन र शिक्षामा पनि भारतेली शिक्षकको प्रभावमा भएको थियो । चाड पर्वमा माघे संक्रान्ती, होली, गुरुपुर्णिमा, छठ, दशै, तिहार मात्र संझना आउंछ । स्कूलमा पनि हिन्दी पठन-पाठनले प्राथमिकता पाए वापत नेपाली भाषा भन्दा मैथिली भाषाको नै महत्वपुर्ण स्थान थियो । घरमा बुवा, आमा, हजुर आमा-बुवाले पार्टटाईम नेवार भाषा बोल्ने गर्नु भएकोले नै शायद हामीले नेवार भाषा को शुरुवात घरमा गर्यौं । २०१५-१६ सालतिर मेरो बुवाको जागीर काठमाडौमा भएपछि हामी सपरिवार काठमाडौ आयौं । धमीलो बत्ती, चारैतिर पर्खाल लगाएको जस्तो पहाडले घेरिएको काठमाडौ उपत्यका, प्रदूषण रहित चिसो हावापानी शीतल काठमाडौ बहुतै प्यारो लाग्यो । वास्तवमा हाम्रो पूर्वज भक्तपुरको 'बिजुकछेंबाट उत्पति भएको रहेछ । हामी नेवार हौं भन्ने कुरा काठमाडौ आए पछि मात्र थाहा पायौं । तर विडम्बना के भयो भने हामी मधेशबाट झरेको हुनाले हामी चाहिं अब मदिसे नेवार अर्थात 'मर्स्या 'मा गन्नि थाल्यौं । कलचरल स:कले गर्दा हाम्रो बाल्यपन दोधारमा गुज्रिन थाल्यो । न हामीलाई नेवार समुदायले स्वीकार गर्यो न क्षेत्री बाहुनको समाजले, न त मधिसे समुदायले । नेवार भाषाका शव्द मुखमा आउने गुन्जाईस नै भएन । नेवार समाजमा गयो नेवार समुदयको शुद्ध संस्कृतिको ज्ञान नै नभएकोले हामी त त्रिशंकु भए जस्तो अनुभव भयो । काठमाडौमा महिनै पिच्छे चाडपर्व भोज भतेर भई रहने र स्कूलमा समेत चाडपर्वको बिदा हुने तर घरमा त्यस्तो चाडपर्व नै नमनाएको देख्दा म आफै जिल्ल पर्थें । आफुले थाहा पाए अनुसार दशैं र तिहार हामी नेपालीको ठूलो पर्व हो । यही ज्ञान ममा थियो । स्कूल कलेजमा नेवार साथीहरूको समुदायमा म जहिले पनि एक्लो । कारण ममा नेवार भाषाबाट अनभिज्ञ भएकोले कागको बथानमा आफु एक्लो बकुला भएको अनुभव भयो । बिस्तारै नेवार भाषा र संस्कृतिबाट आफू अलग्गिन बाध्य हुनुपर्यो । साथीहरु पनि अब नेवारभन्दा बाहुन क्षेत्री र अरुहरू बढन थाल्यो ।

भाषाको गोलमाल, संस्कृतिको गोलमाल भएता पनि आफ्नो नाता कुटुम्बको घरमा चांडपर्वमा बोलाउंदा नेवार खाना नै बन्ने भएकोले नेवार खाना समयूबजी, त:खा:, सन्याखुना अनि का:घासा आदि परिकार र लप्ते भोय् (पातमा खाने भोज) बन्ने भएकोले नेवार भोज चाहिं मनपराउन थालें । अरूभन्दा पनि सबैजना लहरै बसेर भोज खाने परम्परा राम्रो लाग्न थाल्यो । फेरि ठूलो खसीको मासु (रांगा) नखाने पर्दा आफु फेरि भोजमा पनि 'आउट अफ अर्डर 'बनें । कचिला, छ्वेला, मम्चाबाट आफु फेरि टाढा ।

यसै सन्दर्भमा आफु नेवार समुदायमा नेवार भएर पनि आफ्नो अस्तित्व नभएको अनुभव भयो ।आफु नेवार हुं भन्ने गर्व नै कहिलै भएन । भिन्तुना शव्दको पहिचान पनि पछि पछि आएर मात्र थाहा भयो । काठमाडौंको नेवार, मधेसको नेवार आदि भ्रमपूर्ण संस्कृतिमा मेरो दिमागमा नेवार संस्कृति प्रति बिरोधाभास विचार पलाउन थाल्यो । काठमाडौको नेवार समाज बहुत कट्टर हुने अनि नेवार समाजमा आफ्नो अधकल्चो ज्ञानले गर्दा मिल्न नसकिने आदि समस्याले गर्दा मेरो जीवन्तको केही अंश अल्प ज्ञानमा नै बित्यो । शायद यस्तै विवादास्पद परिस्थितिको कारणले गर्दा होला मेरो विवाह मेरो चुनौती अनुसार ब्राह्मण परिवारमा हुनगयो । मलाई ब्राह्मण

[१] *ma newar kailai bhaina* (I Never became a Newar) by Manju Hādā

परिवारमा, समुदायमा घुलमिल गर्न त्यति गाह्रो परेन । म नेवार भएता पनि उनीहरुको समाजमा म सजिलै स्वीकृत भएं । छुवाछुतको भावना मप्रति कहिल्यै भएन । कुनै कुनै बेला नेवार खाना खान मनलाग्दा आफै एक्लो पर्ने । म नेवार भएता पनि अनमेल परिस्थितिले गर्दा न म्लाई नेवार भाषा नै थाहा भयो न पुरा नेवार संस्कृति । म अलग्गिएं नेवार समुदायबाट । यसर्थ म नेवार कहिले भईन ।

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भारतीय नेवार संगठन, कालिम्पोङ, भारत

सन् १-८-१९९३ आईतबारका दिन स्थानीय एस.यु.एम.आइ. हलमा श्री भाइचन्द प्रधानको अध्यक्षतामा कालिम्पोङ निवासी नेवारहरुको (प्रधान) एक जरूरी बैठक पश्चात भारतीय नेवार संगठनको जन्म भयो । उक्त सभामा निम्न सदस्यको एक अस्थायी कमिटी गठन भएको थियो । सभापति भानुभक्त प्रधान, उप-सभापति कुमार प्रधान, सचिव कृष्णमणी प्रधान, सह-सचिव नयन प्रधान, कोषाध्यक्ष श्रीमती चन्द्रमाया प्रधान र प्रमुख सल्लाहकार पी. आर प्रधान, भाईचन्द प्रधान र सी. के. प्रधान । उक्त संगठनको सक्रृयतामा गत १९९५ सेप्तेम्बर २३ र २४ का दिन नेवार भाषा, साहित्य, संस्कृति र सभ्यताको सम्बर्धन गर्ने उद्देश्य लिएर भारतीय नेवार सम्मेलनको आयोजना गरिएको थियो । उक्त सम्मेलनमा नेपाल लगायत बिभिन्न क्षेत्रका करिब ३००० जति नेवार कार्यकर्ताहरुले भाग लिएका थिए । गत बर्ष ११-५-१९९७ का दिन यस संगठनको बार्षिक सभामा निम्नलिखित महानुभावहरु रहेको नयां कार्यकारिणी समिति गठन गरिएको छ । सभापतिः सी.एल प्रधान, उप-सभापति द्वय श्री बी. आर. प्रधान र श्री दुर्गा नारायण प्रधान, सचिव श्री नयन प्रधान, सह-सचिव श्री बिमल चन्द्र प्रधान र सुश्री सुष्मा प्रधान र कोषाध्यक्ष श्री अजय प्रधान । यस अतिरिक्त अन्य २१ जना कार्यकारिणी सदस्यहरु निर्वाचित गरिएका छन् । यस संगठनले लोप हुन थालेका नेवार संस्कृतिहरुको जर्गेना गर्न भावी कार्यक्रमहरु तर्जुमा गरेका छन् । (हाम्रा प्रतिनिधि श्री योगबीर शाक्यको सौजन्यबाट प्राप्त समाचार)

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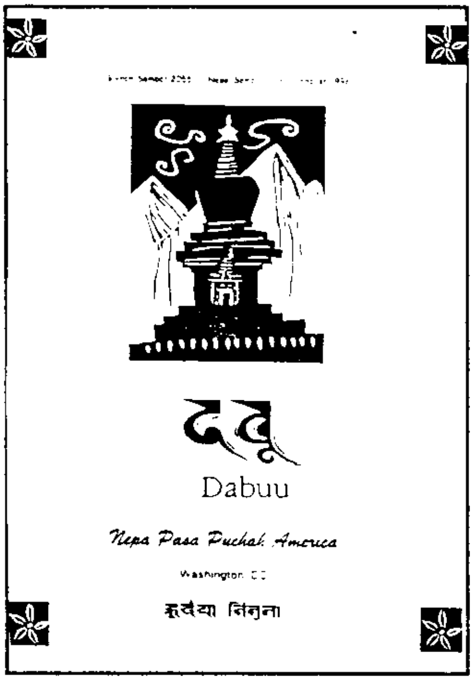

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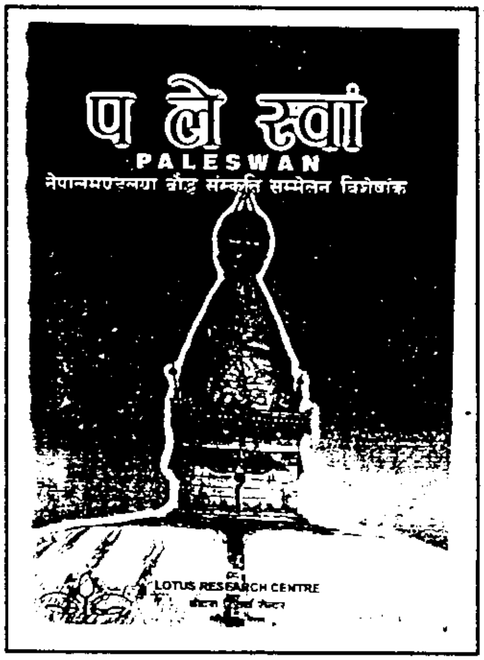

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नेवाः विज्ञान

(नेपाल भाषा ख्यः)

सम्पादकया च्वसां[1]

विश्वया कुं कुलाम्य् नी स्वना तःगु एशीयाली देया अध्ययन व अनुसंधानय् नेपाःदे नं च्वय् हे लाये धुंकल । नेपाः दुने नं क्विाः याये बलय् नेवाः तयेगु भाषा, संस्कृती, कला, संगीत, जात्राया विषय वस्तु, पर्व जक मखु सामाजिक शास्त्रया न्ह्यागु नं विषयया अध्ययन स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी विद्वान पिनिसं याना वया च्वंगु दु । थ्व नीगूगु शताब्दी फोःचाःगु इलय् नेवाः अध्ययनया ख्यः नं यको हे चकना वना च्वंगु दु । तर देपिने गुलि ज्या जुल धैगु तथ्य दुने उलि ब्यापक जुईक प्रचार प्रसार जुया च्वंगु धाःसा खने मदु । अथे हे दे दुनेया पिनिसं याना वया च्वंगु ज्या इवः नं पिनेया पिन्सं भायूया हुनि उलि च्यूताः तया च्वंगु खने मदु । थौ पिनें पिनें जुया च्वंगु ज्याया धलः मुनेगु अति आवश्यक जुया च्वंगु वाःचायेका वंगु दं ११११८ सं नेपाल भाषा जक मखु नेवाःनाप सम्बन्धित न्ह्यागु नं विषयया अध्ययन व अनुसंधान याईपिन्त ग्वहालि जुई कथं अन्तर राष्ट्रीय नेपाल भाषा सेवा समिती नीस्वनाः थ्व " नेवाः विज्ञान " नांगु दँपै पिहां वयाच्वंगु खः । थुकें अध्ययन अनुसंधानया ज्या इवः झं झं चकना वनी धैगु तात्तुना । मुख्य यानाः नेवाःनाप सम्बन्धित न्ह्यागु नं विषयया च्वसु जक मखु विश्वय न्यना च्वंपि नेवाःजातीया गतिविधिया सुचं नं दुथ्याई । अले अनुसंधान मूलक च्वसुयात थ्व दपौसं विशेष थाय् बियेगु जुई । गथे विश्वय् थीथी भाय् ल्हाना च्वंगु खः अथे हे नेवाःजाती बारे थीथी भासं च्वयातःगु च्वसुयात नं थाय् सुरक्षित जुई । न्हापांगु ल्याखय् अंग्रजी, नेपाली व नेपाल भाषाया च्वसुयात थाय् बियागु जुल । थ्व छगू अन्तर्रराष्ट्रीय दपौ कथं पिहां वया च्वंगु खः । अकें थुके भायूया कथं ब्यागलं तयेगु जुई मखु । थ्वयात अंग्रजी भायूलय् जक लिकुंका नेवाःतयेगु अले मांभायूयात थाय् मबियेगु नं जुई फैमखु । गुलिखे नेवाःत थःगु जातीय भाय् (नेपाल भाषा) मसया दुख ताःपि नं मदुगु मखु इमित राष्ट्र भाषाया माध्ययमं थःगु जातीय गौरवया खँ कने माःगु दु । नेवाः भाय् सःपि नेवाःतयेंत जक भायूया कथं नेवाः नालेगु नं थौया ई मखये धुंकल । नेवाःतयेगु बारे वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन यायेगु सिलसिला न्ह्याःवना च्वंगु ईलय् भायूया पंगलः चीकाः छगू मंकाःपौ मदयेकं मगाःगु वाः चायेकाः थ्व नेवाः विज्ञानं पिकयागु जुल । थ्वयात म्वाका तयेगु छिक पिनिगु ल्हाती दु । विश्वय् न्यना च्वंपि नेवाः भाजु मयेजुपिनिसं नेवाः जुयाः म्वाना च्वनागुया गौरव तायेका थ्व दपौयात फु फु कथं ग्वाहालि यानाः दी धैगु आशा यासें न्हूदँ ११११९ (झिंछ्सः व गुदँ) वयंगु लसताय् सकल भाजु मयेजु पिन्त जिमिगु दु नुगःलं निसें भिन्तुना दु । सुभाय् ।

[1] Sampādakyā chwasā " Editorials in Nepal Bhasa"

नेवाः मस्तय् नेवाः भाय्, मां-बौपाखें भिंगु लाय्*

दरशा 'नेवामि'
सं.रा.अ.

* *Newāh Mastaye Newah Bhāye mābau pakhen bhingu lāye:* "It is good investment to teach Newar children to speak native language by Darashā Newāmi. The article discusses tendency of loosing the knowledge of mother tongue among Newar children. It is based on a test conducted with two Newar children recently visted to the USA. The test was based on audio recording of reading proficiency and translation of Nepali and English text into Newar languages. According to the test they have lost the mother tongue skill in various areas such as vocabulary, grammatical construction and special feature of Newar language. This is a canonical problem among the children of Newar community of Nepal The writer concludes that Newar children are losing the knowledge of native language due to influence of dominating Nepali language in school, playmate circle and parent's changing attitude of talking with children in Nepali.-Ed.

न्ह्यत खँ:(Introduction)[1] :-

प्लागी छगू नमुनाया बिषय जुया ब्युगु दु (श्रेष्ठ १९९५) । तर मस्तेत नेवाः भाय् मस्यनेगु मनोकृती धाःसा झं झं चकना वना च्वन ।चायत कालया भाषा नीति नेवाः भाय्या निर्मूल यायेगु अनेवाः पहः वःपिं नेवाः तयेगु दुसप्रयास न्ह्यावं लिसे नेवाः मस्तेसं थः गु भाय् ल्हाना च्वंसा बांलागु जागीर नयेत थाकुई धैगु मनोबृति ब्वलना वल । उगु इलय् थौं कन्हय् थें नगरपालिकाय् नेवाःभाय् छ्यले दइ धकाः सुया जक मती वं जुइ ? लोकसेवां नेपाल भाषा कयाः एम. ए. याना तःफिन्त विद्वताया अंक नं लिकया ब्यूबलय् झी नेवाःतयेके थःगु भाय् प्रति श्रद्धा मदया वल । अले व हे मनोबृतिया जालय् लाःपिंसं स्कूलय् नेवाःभाय् व साहित्य ब्वनेगु जर्कं ला छाय् छें समेत हे थःगु भाय् मल्हाईपिं दयावल । थ्व मनोबृतिं तकयंका तःपिं नेवाः तयेत नेवाः मखु धका सरकारी तथ्यांक काःवःपिंसं च्वया यंकल अले नेपालय् नेवाःतयेगु जनसंख्या यको हे म्हो क्यना बिल । धैगु मतलब छु धासा जनगणनाय् नेवाः भाय् ल्हाईपिं नेवाःत अल्प संख्याय् लाका बिल । थ्व सुनां याना जूगु ? सरकारं लाकि झी नेवाः तयेसं ? जिं थ्व न्ह्यसः छिकपिनि न्ह्यने तया च्वना । न्हूगु संबिधान वसेंलि नीस्वंगु 'जगत सुन्दर ब्वने कुथिं नेवाः तयेगु

समस्या (Problem):-

थन न्ह्यथने त्यनागु च्वसुया मू आजु छु धाःसा - च्वय् न्ह्यथनागु मनोबृतीया लिच्वः कथं नेवाः मस्तेगु थःगु मौं भाय् छु स्तरय् लाना च्वन, गथे याना त्वता हयाच्वन दुवालाः विश्लेषण याना स्वयेगु खः । इमिगु मां भाय्या स्तरय् छु समस्या वया च्वन माला स्वयेगु आदि थ्व च्वसुया मू समस्या खः ।

तथ्य संकलन (Data Collection):

थ्व च्वसुई छेलागु तथ्य ज्वलं थन हे अमेरिकाय् नकतिनि नेपालं वःपिं निम्ह नेवाः मस्तनाप खंला-बला यानाः मुनेगु ज्या यानागु जुल । थथे तथ्य संकलन यायेत थन स्वंगु भाय् छेलागु जुल अंग्रजि, नेपाली व नेपाल भाषा । इपिं मस्त निम्हं थ्व स्वतां भाय् थःथःगु स्तरअनुसार ल्हाये सः च्वये नं सः। तर छु भाय् गुलि सः धैगु खँ कोछी थाकु । अकें परम्परा अनुसार मांया मुलय्

तया: ल्हाना क्यनीगु भायुयात मांभाय् न्हापांगु भाय् (L-1), स्कुलय् क्ना: सयेकीगु भाय् नेपालीयात निगूगु भाय् (L-2) अल अंग्रेजी भायुयात स्वंगूगु भाय् (L-3) याना थन छ्यला च्वनागु जुल ।

अनुसंधान बिधि(Methodology)

थ्व च्वसुयात मागु ज्वलं मुनेगु ज्या निम्ह नेवा: मस्तेत नवाका: टेप भरे यानागु जुल । क्रय् बिया तया कथं प्यगू प्रकारया तथ्य मुनागु जुल ।

१) निम्ह मस्तय् छम्ह छम्ह याना: २०० खँग्व दूगु खँपु ब्वंका रेकर्ड याना ।

२) नेपाली भाषां च्वया त:गु महेन्द्र माला कक्षा २ यागु बाखँ ब्वंका: नेवा: भासं अनुवाद याका रेकर्ड याना

३) अंग्रेजी भासं च्वया त:गु अकबर बीरबलया बाखँ ब्वंका नेवा: भासं अनुवाद याके बिया ।

४) च्वय् १ सं छेलागु खँपु मांम्हे सित ब्वंके बिया छगू छगू खँत्वा: थू मथू स्वया: मथूगु खँत्वा: व खँग्व जाचेयाना ।

सूचक म्हसीके(Informant)

थ्व च्वसुया तथ्य ज्वलं मुनेत ग्वाहालि कयापि मस्त नील: (मिसा, उमेर ८ दं ,११ला व २८ न्हु) अले सौरभ (मिजं, उमेर १३दं २ ला व २० न्हु) ख: । इपि निम्हं नेपालय् सिध्दार्थ वनस्थलीया कक्षा २ गु व ७ गु ब्वना च्वंपि जुया च्वन । थ्व तथ्य मुनागु इलयूतक इपि मस्त अमेरिका वया च्वंगु ११ ला ४ न्हु (३३४ दिन) दूगु जुया च्वन । उलि ई तकया दुने इमिगु भायुया स्थिति अंग्रजी भाय् L-2 लय् स्थानान्तरण जुई धुंकल । इपि मस्तेगु परिवारय् नेपालय् व अमेरिकाय् ल्हाईगु भायुया स्थिती परिशिष्ट सं (तंसा ज्वलं) स्वया दिसं ।

मुनागु तथ्य(Tested Text)

न्हापां स:स: थे ब्वंके बियागु खँपु मोतीलक्ष्मी उपासिकां च्वया दीगु ' छ्याक:' बाखँया २०० खँग्व: दूगु वक्य् बिया तयागु खँपु ल्यया ब्वंके बिया ।

आ: याय्गु छु ? पीमाको पिया च्वन्य धा:बले ला व छ्याकलं जित: त्व: तैगु हे मखुत । हानं लुमंस्य वल ' झी थ:थिति आपा: दुं जिं थ: थिति सकलें म्हस्यूगु मखु, जि थमं तुं मालाम्ह थ:थिति ला:सा छु याय् का:, अथ्य थवं थ: लाक कँना: भा:तया छेँ नं थ:छे नं दुत मका:पि नं गुलिखे दु । 'लिपा लाय्व बुढा पिंवय लाई ' धाल, व छ्याक: बुढा मजुनि मखा: ज्वी, धुसी लुम्हतिनि बुढा ज्वीगु ज्वीका थम्ति । हानं मामं जक मखु जाँचय् पास जूसा ला बानं नं खँ फैगु जुल, अल्य जित: पास ज्वीगु हे नं झं ग्याना पुगु खँ थें जुल, उकि सरासर दुहाँ क्ना: धा:वन्य धका: वाथायिथि दला, तर गथे गथ्य मस्यु तुति गथि गथि चिना: भाराक्क दल । अल्य छुं हे बल मदुम्ह थ्यं लासाय् तुं भ्व:सुना च्वँना ।

जिमि पाजुया म्हयाय् न्हूचा बिया छ्वैगु, जिपि सकल्यं पाजुया कोठाय् हे मुना च्वना । कोठा भचा ता:हाक: दक्षिण पाख्यर झ्या: स्वँपा: दु । व झ्यालं दुहां व:गु निभा: गाक्कं फस्वय् धुंकल । पश्चिम पाख्यर खाता व खाताया लिक्य् पाख्यर दथु अंग: लिथंक त:ग्व:गु संधू छग: दु । वया लिक्कसं त्रंक निग: पौँच्चिना तल । छग: त्रंक बँथूसं दिका: जिमि मल्यं वस: पिकाकां "थ्व वस: त्वकेत ज्यू ला, थ्व निछ्याभूयात ज्यू ला, थ्व कंजला छ्क्यूत ज्यू ला ? " धाथां छता छता वस: पिकया: जिमि मंयात क्यना च्वन । (नेपाल भाषा न्हू बाखँ पुच:, पौ ल्या: १६-१७)

इपि निम्हसिनं थ्व खंपु बांलाक ब्वने थाकूगु तायेकल । अकें गथे अ:पु अथे हे ब्वंके बिया ।

निल:नं ब्वंगु खँपु

आयागु छु पिमको पिया चोन्य धाबले ला व छ-या-क-लं जित त्व तैगु हे मखुत । हानं लो मंसे वल कि थ थिती आपा दु । जिं थ थिति सकले म्हस्यूगु मखु । जि थ-मं तु मालाम थ थिति लासा छु या का ! अथे थवं थ लाक क्ना: भातया छे नं थ छे नं दुत मकापि नं गुलि-खे दु । लिपा लाबं बुढा पियं लाई धाल । व छ्याक बुढा मजुनि मखा, जुई धुसि लुम्ह तिनि बुढा जुइगु जुईका थ-मिकि अ मित । हानं मामं जक मखु जाचना पास जूसा ला बानं नं खँ फैले जुल । अले जित पास जुईगु ए नं झं ए ग्याना पुगु खँ थें जुल । उकि सरासर दुहाँ क्ना धा व-ने धका: वाथा यिथि दना: तर गथे गथे मस्यु तुति गथि गथि चिना भाराक्क दल । अले छुं हे बल मदुम थ्यं लसाय तुं भ्वसुना च्वं ना ।

जिमि पाजु या महाया न्हुचा बिया छोवैगु , जिपि सकलयं पाजुया कोठाय् हे मुना च्वना । कोठा भचा ता: हाक: दछिन पाखयर या सोपा दु व यालं दुहां व:गु निबा ग्याकय् फसब धुंकल । पश्चिम पाखर खाता व खाता या लिक या पाखर धगु अग लिथक त-व गु सि दु छ ग दु । क्या लिक्क स त्रंक निग: पं पँचिना तल । छग त्रंक बयसि दिका जिमि मलय वस पिकाकां थ्व वस्स तो कय त ज्यु ला ? थ्व निछका भू यात ज्यूला? थ्व बं जला छोयत ज्यूला ? धा धां छता छता वस: फ्किया जिमि मा यात कन्या च्वङ ।

सौरभं ब्वंगु खँपु

आयगु छु पिमाको पिया चोन्य थाबले ला व छ्याकलं जित त्च तैगु हे मखुत । हानं लो मंसे वल झि थ थिती आपा दु जिं थ थिति सकलें मस्यूगु मखु ।जि थमं तु मालम थ थिति ला:सा छु या उ का ! अथे थवं थलाक वना: भातया छें नं थ छें नं दुत मकापि नं गुलिखे दु । लिपा लाइव बुद्य पिकयं लाई धाल व छ्याकक बुद्य मजुनि मखा, जुई धुसि लुम्ह तिनि बुद्य जुइगु जुईका थमित । हानं मामं जक मखु जाक्य् पास जूसा ला बानं नं खँ फैगु जुल । अले जित पास जुईगु ए नं ग्याना पुगु खँ थें जुल । उकिं सरासर दुहाँ वना धा वने धका: वाथा थिथि दना: तर गथे गथे मस्यु तुति गथि गथि चिना भाराक्क दल । अले छुं बल म्दुम थ्वं लासाय तुं भ्वसुना च्वना ।

जिमि पाजु या म्हा न्हुचा बिया छूवैगु, जिपिं सकलें पाजुया कोठाय् हे मुना च्वना । कोठा भचा ता: हाक: दछिन पाखेर् क्या सोपा दु व वयालं दुहां व:गु निभा ग्याकय् फस्वये धुंकल । पश्चिम पाखे खाता व खाता या लिको पाखेर् दथु अंग लिथक तव गु सं दु छ ग दु । वया लिक्क स त्रंक निग: पं पँचिना तल । छग त्रंक बैस्य दिका जिमि मल्य वस पिकाकां थ्व वस्स तो क्य ज्यु ला ? थ्व निछया भू यात बं जला छोयात ज्यूला ? धा धां छता छता वस पिकया जिमि मा यात केना च्वन ।

तथ्य विश्लेषण(Data Analysis)

थन निम्हसिनं स:स:थे खंपु ला ब्वन । तर बांलाक पुवंक मथू । थन नील: नं सय् ५८.१ ब्व अले सौरभं सय् ६२.५ ब्व जक थुगु जुया च्वन । अले व खंपुयात २४त्वा: खंत्वा:लय् ब्वथला: कुचाकुचा याना माम्ह सित ब्वंका: पालंपा न्यंके बियाबलय् निम्हं मस्तसें थूगु (बोधगम्य) व मथूगु खंपु (+) व (-) चिं बिया: ब्वथलागु जुल । (स्वया दिसं तंसा २)

थन फुकं याना २४ पु खंपु मध्य १५ पु जक बांलाक थूगु जुल । अले नील: नं १० पु सौरभं ९ पु खत्वा: मथूगु सीदु । थ्व मथूगु खंत्वा: मध्य् क्य् बिया तया:गु खंग्व: मथूगु सीदत अले मां म्हसिनं नेपाली अनुबाद याना: थुईका बीमाल । थन नेवा: खंग्व: थुईकित नेपाली भाय्या माध्यम ब:काये मा:गु सीदत । थुकें छु क्यनी धा:सां थ:गु मां भाय् मस्तेगु लागी (L-1) मजुसे (L-2) या स्तरय् न्ह्या वना च्वंगु खने दु । अले नेपाली भाय्यात (L-1) कथं नालेगु लंपु लिना च्वंगु नं सी दु । निम्हसिनं मथूगु खंत्वा: व खँग्व: थथे ख: ।

नील:	सौरभ
१) ----	थ: थिति
२) दुत मका:पिं	थवंथ:,भातया छे दु माका:पि
३) पिंक्य	पिंक्य
४) मखा	-----
५) जुइगु जुइका	----
६) ----	फैगु जुल
७) वाथा थिथि	-----
८) संधू	तग्व:गु
९) त्रंक पंचिना	त्रंक
१०) बंय् सं दिका:,मल्य्	त्वकेत ज्यूला
११) निछ्या भू	निछ्या भू
१२) बंजला	बंजला
४१.६६ प्रतिशत	३७.५० प्रतिशत

थ्व च्वय् बिया तयागु तथ्यं सीदु कि नील:यात सय् ४१.६६ ब्व नेवा:भायया खँत्वा: मथुई धुंकल । अले सैरभयात सय् ३७.५० ब्व च्वयात:गु नेवा: भाय् बोधगम्य मजुई धुकल । थथे स्वये बलय् नील:या बोधगम्यता वया उमेर अनुसार मां भायया ज्ञां तापाना वना च्वंगु सी दु । अले सौरभया बोधगम्यता नील: स्वया भचा थाहां वंसाँ वयागु नं उमेर स्वया तापाना वंगु खने दु । छाय्धासां सौरभं नेवा: परिवारय् १२ दं मयाक बितेयाये धुंकल । नील:यात 'थ:थिती' व 'फैगु जुल' निगलं खँग्व: थुईकि थाकुल तर सौरभयात 'मखं, 'जुइगु जुईका, 'वाथायीथि खँग्व: थुईकित छुं थाकु मजूसाँ वयाके नेवा: शब्द भण्डार (Vocabulary) म्हं जुजुं वना च्वन । अकेँ वं तप्यंक हे नेपाली खं ल्हायेगु यायेत स्वई । गूगु वयात तसकं अ:पु । थ्व खं क्रय् न्हयथने त्यनागु नेपाली-नेपाल भाषा अनुवाद तथ्यं नं क्यं । लिच्व: कथँ थन छु खं स्पष्ट जू धासा नेवा: भाय् इमिगु लागि (L-1)या स्तरं तापाना वना च्वंगु दु । अले नेपाली भाय् यात (L-1)या थासय् स्थानान्तरण जुया वना च्वंगु दु । नेवा: भायुयात मां भाय् (Mother Tongue) धाये मल्वया वना च्वंगु दु ।

द्विभासीवाद(Bilingualism)

नेवा:त मचाबलय् निसें हे द्विभाषिय वातावरणय् हुर्के जुइपिं जाती ख: अझ खासयाना नेपाली भाय्यात थ:गु भाय् (L-1) नाला: काइपिं बाहेक मेपिं तिब्बती-बर्मी जक मखु आर्यभाय् ल्हाईपिं नेपा:या जनजाती फुकं हे द्वभाषिय (Bilingual)ख: । थथे द्वभाषिय बिशेषता दूगु समाजय् जन्म जूपिं मनूतयूत निगू भाय् ल्हायेत छुं थाकुई मखु । नितां नाप नापं सया वई । (थन सया व:गु भाय् व सयेका का:गु भाय् छगू हे स्तर् तये मज्यु) अकें थ्व च्वसुयात मागु ज्वलं मुनेत ग्वाहालि कयापिं निम्हं सूचकत द्वभाषी वातावरणय् (Bilingual Environment) हुर्के जूपिं मस्त ख: । इमिगु द्वभाषिक स्तर जाचे यायेगु महत्वपुर्ण जुगु तायेका च्वना । अकें थन नेपाली, अंग्रजी व नेवा: भायया माध्यमं अनुवाद शीप (Skill) छक: विचा याये ।

नेपाली - नेपाल भाषा अनुवाद (Nepali to Nepal Bhasha Translation)

थन च्वय् न्हयथनागुं अनुसंधान विधि ल्या: २ कथँ तथ्य ज्वलं मुनेत महेन्द्र माला भाग २ या 'कमीलो र चरो' बाखँ ईमित पालंपा: याना ब्वंके बिया अले छत्वा: छत्वा खँत्वा: याना: भाय् हीके बिया (अनुवाद याके बिया)। बाखं थथे ख:-

<u>कमिलो र चरो</u>

(१) एउटा कमिलो हिंडि रहेको थियो । (२) त्यसलाई पानी खान मन लाग्यो । (३)उसले पानी खोज्यो । (४) कमिलोले एउटा खोलो देख्यो । (५) उसले मनमनै भन्यो - (६) "त्यहाँ खोलो रहेछ । (७)म पानी खान्छु ।" (८) कमिलो खोलामा गयो । (९)उसले खोलाको पानी खायो । (१०) फर्कदा उसका खुट्टा चिप्लिए । (११)अनि ऊ पानीमा पर्यो । (१२)कमिलो खोलाबाट बाहिर आउन सकेन । (१३) एउटा चरो पनि पानी खान त्यहि खोलामा आयो । (१४) उसले कमिलोलाई पानीमा बगन लागेको देख्यो । (१५) चरोले मन मनै भन्यो "(१६)अहो ! कमिलो पानीमा बगन लाग्यो । (१७) पानीबाट न झिके । (१८) यो मर्छ । (१९) म यसलाई जसरी पनि बचाउंछु । (२०) अनि चरो उडेर गयो । (२१) उसले चुच्चाले च्यापेर पात ल्यायो । (२२) त्यो पात कमिलोको छेउमा खसाल्यो । (२३) कमिलो पातमा चढयो । (२४) चरोले त्यो पात पानीबाट बाहिर ल्यायो । (२५) कमिलो खुशी भयो ।

थथे २५ त्वा: खँत्वा: दूगु नेपाली भायया बाखनय् १०५ गः खंग्व: दूगु जुल । इपिं निम्हसिनं व बाखंया भाय् क्रय् बिया तया कथं अनुवाद यागु जुल ।

	नील:	सौरभ
	इमू व चखुंचा	**इमू व झंगः**
१)	छगू इमू न्यासि वना च्वंगु ख: ।	छउ इमू हिडी रहेको जुई ।
२)	उईत ल: त्वने मास वल ।	उइत ल: त्वने मास्त वई ।
३)	व ल: माल	व इमू नं पानी खोजे याई ।

४) इमूनं छउ खुसि खन ।

५) वं धाल आहा व ला लः खनीसा

६) जि लः त्वने मासि वल ।

७) इमुं खुसी वन ।

८) वं खुसि यु लः त्वन

९) ल्या क्ने बलय् उईउ तुति चिप्ले जुल

१०) अले व ल्य् परे जुल ।

११) इमु खुसी नं प्यां क्ने मफुत ।

१२) छउ चखुंचा नं लः त्वने प्यासी वल

१३) व नं खुसी क्न

१४) वं इमू खन ।

१५) वं उइत धाल

१६) अह व ला इमु खनीसा

१७) कैत अन व्कने फैमखु

१८) उयात मदत याये माल ।

१९) अले चखुंचा ब्वया वन

२०) उयुं त्वाथं च्यापे याना छउ हः हल ।

२१) व हः इमु नाप खसाले यात ।

२२) इमुनं हय् चढे यात

२३) चखुंचा नं इमू यात ल्य् पिक्यात

२४) अले इमू खुसी जुल ।

व इमू नं छउ खुसि देखे जुई ।

र व इमू नं मन मनं सोचे याई

अन खुसि दु । जि पानी त्वने मा:का

व इमू खुसी हे वनी

व इमू नं खुसी हे ल त्वनी

ल्यां वये बलय् वै इमूयू खुट्टा चिप्ले जुई

अले व इमू ल्यु खसे जुई

व इमू लः बाट बाहिर वये मफत ।

अथे हे बले छउ झंगः व ए खुसियु लः त्वनेवइ ।

व झंगःनं इमू ल्यु कुतु वंउ खनि ।

तर वं मन मनय् सोचे याई ।

व इमू ला ल्य बगे जुइ च्वन ।

उईत जिं बचे याये माः मखुसा व सी

धका: व झंगः ब्वया वनी

व झंगः नं छउ लप्ती च्यापे याना है ।

व लप्ति इमूयु छेवे तै ।

अले व इमू लप्ते चढे याना पानी नं बाहिर वै ।

इमु नं झंगःयात धन्यबाद बी

छं जितः बचे यात जि खुसि जुल ।

थथे २५ त्वाः खँत्वाः दूगु खंय् भायूया बाखँयात नीलः नं २४ त्वाः सौरभं २२ त्वाः खंत्वाःलय् भाय् हिला बिल । इमिसं छ्यःगु खँग्वः ल्याः थथे जुलः-

तालिका -१

	नीलः	सौरभ
वाक्य	२४	२२
शब्द संख्या	११२	१४३
नेपाली	७	१९
नेवाः	१०५	१२६
त्यासा खँग्वः	६.२५ प्रतिशत	१३.२८ प्रतिशत

थ्व तालिकां छु स्पष्ट क्यं धासां मस्त तधी जुया वः लिसें नेवाः भाय् त्वता हैगु जुया च्वन । सौरभ १३ दं दत वया नेवाः भायूया ज्ञां बुलुं न्हना वना च्वंगु दु । तर अथे हे नीलः १३ दं दै बलय् वयाःगु नेवाः भायूया ज्ञां छु अवस्थाय् थ्यनी जांचे याये बलय् सौरभया थें तुं म्हो जुजुं वनी ला कि स्थिर जुया च्वनी छगू उत्सुकताया बिषय खः । यदि म्हो जुल धाःसा मस्त तधी जुल कि नेवाः भाय् तोफिना वनीगु खने दु अले लिपा जूलिसे भाय् ल्हायेगु तोता है । थ्व खँ अमेरिका थ्यंगु १५ ला व २न्हु लिपा नीलःयाके परिक्षण यानागु स्वादेश धलः अनुसार वया सय् ४१ ब्व नेवाः खँग्वः लोमंगु सीदत । गूगु कि ११ला दुबेले सौरभं सय् ३३ ब्व नेवाःखँग्वः लोमंके धूंकगु खः (स्वया दिसं लितंसा ३) । थ्व जूगुया मुख्य कारण छु ? स्कूल व जःला खःलाया पासा संगतं ला कि मस्तये मांबौया थः थितीपि खँय् भाय् ल्हात कि समाजय् इज्जत थाहाँ वनीगु आधारहीन मनोवृति यानाः । थ्व मनोवृत्ती झी नेवाः तयेत तसकं हे मछालापुगु विषय खः । थुखे पाखे झीसं बांलाक च्यूता तये माःगु दु ।

अनुदीत तथ्यया व्याकरणिक विश्लेषण(Grammatical Analysis of the Translated Text)

आः थन इपिं निम्ह सियागु नेवाः भायूया स्तरिकरण कथं बिचाः यायेबलय् व्याकरणिक ज्ञां या स्थिति गथे च्वं छक बिचाः याये । थन क्वय् बिया तयागु तालिका -२ सं पायेछि मजूगु व्याकरणया ज्ञां न्ह्यथना च्वना । अले विशेष यानाः मिखा ब्वयागु व्याकरणया विषय थथे जुल । १) कारक (Case Mark) २. बगीकृत प्रत्यय वा ब्वथला ग्वः(Clasifier),३. स्तरीय रुप(Standard Form) ४. ह्रस्व दीर्घ (Vowel length) ५. वाक्य संगठन (Structure) ६. त्यासा खँग्वः (Borrowed words) ७. भाषान्तरण (L-2 Transfer) ८. बोध गम्यता (Intelligibility) ।

तालिका -२

		नीलः			सौरभ		
	वाक्य	२४	१००		२३	१००	
१	कारक,	५	२०	प्रतिशत	३	१३	प्रतिशत
२	बगीकृत प्रत्यय	३	१२	,,	४	१७	,,
३	स्तरीरुप	७	२८	,,	५	२१	,,
४	ह्रस्व दीर्घ	५	२०	,,.	२	८	,,
५	वाक्य संगठन,	३	१२	,,	१	४	,,
६	आगन्तुक शव्द	५	२०	,,	१४	६०	,,
७	भाषान्तरण	१०	४१	,,	१७	७३	,,
८	बोध गम्यता	६	२५	,,	८	३४	,,

थ्व तालिकं छु सीं दु धाःसां नीलः स्वया सौरभया जन्म अपो जूगुलिं वयाके व्याकरणिक ज्ञां (Grammatical Knowledge) नीलः याके स्वया अपो दु । तर वयाके नेवाः खँ ग्वः धुकू(Vocabulary) म्हो जुजुं वना च्वंगु दु । अकें वं तप्यंक हे नेपाली शव्द छेलेगु कुतः याना च्वंगु दु । च्वयूया तालिकं कथं २२ खँपु दूगु बाखँनय् जक सय् ६० ब्व नेपाली खँग्वः छ्यःगु खने दु । थ्व जूगुया मू कारण मस्तय् ब्वनेगु ज्वलं मदया जूगु खः । हुर्के जूपिं मस्तसें थःगु मानसिक शव्द भण्डार (Mental Vocabulary) मांबौ, जःला खःला, पासापिं नाप खँल्हानाः, आखः ब्वनाः टी भी स्वयाः, रेडियो न्यनाः बल्लाका यंकी । सौरभयात थ्व फुकं चूमलाःगुलिं वया नेवाःभायूया ज्ञां म्हो जुया वना च्वन । आःया अवस्थाय् थ्व तःधंगु समस्या मखु थें च्वनी । तर थथे हे कमजोर जुयावंपिंगु ल्याः अपोया वल कि लिपा जातं नेवाः जूसां भायूया दृष्टीकोणं नेवाः मखया वनेत छुं थाकुई मखु ।

थथे हे च्वयूया तालिका कथं नीलःया भाय् ज्ञां सौरंभया स्वया उमेर अनुसार बांलाना च्वंगु दु । तर इलय् ब्यलय् नवायेगु वातावरण मान्त धाःसा वया नं लोमना वनेफु । आ वयाके कारक(Case Mark), ह्रश्व दीर्घ(Vowel Length) व स्तरीय रुप(Standard Form)या ज्ञां म्हो जूगु दु । तर वं सौरभं थें नेपाली खंग्वः(Borrowed Words) अपो मछ्यः । अले स्तरीयकरण याना यंकेगु लंपु नं यक्व दु । तर वयात सौरभया ति जन्म थ्यनीबलय् तक खँ ल्हायेगु मौका चू मलात धाःसा ज्ञं ज्ञं तापाना वनी । थ्व इमिगु दोष मखु वातावरणया दोष खः । समाजया दोष खः । सुं नं मनूतं सये धुंगु भाय् तुरुन्त लोमनी मखु । तर ल्हायेगु व न्यनेगु बानी मान्त कि लोमना वनेफु । अके इमित ब्वने ज्वलं व वाताबरण दयेका बी माःगु दु । थ्व जुल नेपाली व नेपाल भाषा अनुवादया स्थिती ।

अंग्रजी-नेपाल भाषा अनुवाद (English -Nepal Bhasha Translation)

इमिगु भाय् ज्ञां नापे यायेत थ्न अंग्रेजी भायूया माध्ययम नं छेले माःगु जूगुलिं इमित अनमोल प्रकाशन, पुने, भारत पाखें पिहां

व:गु अंग्रेजी भायृया 'अकबर बीरबल' या बाखँ ब्वंके बिया भाय् हीके बिया । बाखँ थथे ख:

The Most Beautiful Child

1. Often, the Emperor and Birbal used to move about in the town at night in disguise. 2. One night, while strolling in this manner, they came across an odd sight. 3. A fair and beautiful woman was loving, kissing and hugging her dark, ugly and dirty child. 4. The Emperor was quite astonished and said how strange it seems . 5. Isn't it Birbal ?" 6. Birbal replied, Maharaj, however ugly a child may be, it is beautiful for its mother, 7. Though the children of others may be more beautiful for a mother her own child is the most beautiful of all ! " 8. But the Emperor refused to agree with Birbal's statement. 9. The next day Birbal asked an extremely dark and unpleasant looking guard,10. Bring the most beautiful handsome boy to the court!" 11.The Emperor too was present at that time.12.That guard told is wife about the job given to him by Birbal. 13. His wife said, " 14. Then what is your diffuculty ? 15. Is n't our own son beautiful enough ? 16. Take him to the court! " 17. The next morning, the guard dressed his son in the best clothes and took him to the court. 18. He said to the Emperor, " Maharaja, as per your wish, 19. I have brought the most beautiful boy, my own son to the court." 20. Hearing this, the Emperor as well as all the courtiers burst into laughter. 21. Then Birbal said to the Emperor, " Maharaj, now do you agree with what I said. (Total words 236)

<u>नेवा: भायृलय् अनुवाद</u>

नील:

१) छ्नु माहाराज व मन्त्री चाहिल्र कन च्वन !

२) इपिसं बँलाम्ह मयेजुनं छम बांमल्रम व
फोहम मचा यात माया याना च्वंगु खन !

३) माहाराजनं धाल छ्या गयगु फोरम्ह मचा खनीसा !

४) मन्त्री नं धाल म्हाराज छित चाहिं बामलाम्ह मचा ख:

५) तर उ युउ मां यात चाहिं बबांलाम मचा ख:

६) तर म्हाराजं मंत्री नाप स्विकार मयात

७) छउ दिन मन्त्रीनं छउ सिपाइंत न्यन

८) कन्य् बिश्वय् बांल्रम मचा चाहिं हजि

९) व बल्य् महाराज नं अन दु ख निसा

१०) व सिपाईंनं क्यु कल्रइत मन्त्रीनं छु छु धागु दक्को धाल
छोरा प्यारो जुई धका: धाल ।

११) कल्र: नं सिपाईत धाल

१२) जिमि काय् दको सिबे बाल्रम मखुल्र ?

१३) उइत कन्य् दरबारे यंकि

१४) मेउ दिन सिपाइं नं वैउ कायृत दरवारय् यंकल

१५) अले चाहिं दको सियां खँ बल्य् फुकसियां न्हिल

१६) अले मन्त्री नं महाराजित धाल

१७) का महाराज जिं धयागु मखुल्र

१८) छित जक चाहिं व चाहिं मबांला जु

१९) तर उयु मांबायात चाहिं व बांल्र जु ।
(खंगव: ल्या: १३८)

सौरभ

१) छउ राजा व उया मन्त्री बिरबल चाहि न्ह्यबलें चाने जुल कि उयु
देशय् घुम्न वने

२) उबले छउ चाने चाइं राजा र उयु मन्त्री चाई घुमे याना च्वने
बल्य्

३) राजा नं चाहि छउ अचम्मयु चाईं कुरा खन ।

४) छु ख: धा:सा व राजा नं चाईं

५) छउ मां नं छउ कायृइत चुप्पा याना च्वंउ खन !

६) अले राजा नं उयु मन्त्रीत धाल

७) थो गयउ थो जुई ए मरुउ ।

८) थ्व अयउ मबांल्रउ पती क्याएत गय:उ माया याना च्वंउ
सोले धका: धाल ।

९) मन्त्री नं चाहि राजाइत धाल

१०) आमायात उयु छोराइत न्ह्याको ए फोरि बां मल्र: जूसा नं व

११) अले राजा अकबर नं चाइं सहमत मजुल ।

१२) अले चाईं मेउ दिने बिरबल नं चाईं छउ सिपाईत धाल

१३) जत चाई थो देशयु दको सिबे बांल्रमपति छउ मिजं पती
वने दरबारे हे फुल्र ?

१४) सिपाइं नं फु धाल ।

१५) अले छें वना उयु स्वास्नीत धाल

१६) मन्त्री बिरबल नं जित: सकसें बांलाउ पती मिजं हजि धाल छु यायेउ ।

१७) आ: उयु स्वास्नी नं चाइं झिउ ए क्याए यंका दिसंले ।

१८) क्याए ए सिक्क बांल्र नि बिश्वय देशय् झिउ काय् ए बांल्र
नि यंका दसं ले ।

१९) अले उयु कायृत बांल्रउ बांल्रउ लुगा फिकाया राजाताय् यंकल ।

२०) अले सिपाइं नं राजाइत धाल ।

२१) "दको सिबय् बांल्र म पती मिजं थ्व ए कां धका: धाल ।

२२) अले दरबारे च्वंपिं फुक ठूल ठूलो स्वर निकाले यना न्हिल ।
२३) मन्त्री बिरबलं राजाइत धाल "आला छित्त बिश्वास जुल मखुला ?"
(खंग्वः ल्याः २०३)

थुगु प्रकारं २३६ खंग्वः दुगु अंग्रेजी भाय्या बाखंयात नीलःनं १३८ व सौरभं २०३ ग्वः खँग्वः छ्यला: अनुवाद या:गु जुल । थथे अंग्रजी नेपाल भाषाय् अनुवाद यायेबलय् इमित मछिं पहः मवः । तर नीलः व सौरभया अनुवादीत ज्वलं तुलना याना स्वयेबलय् सौरभया नेपाल भायाया ज्ञाँ बिचारनीय जू । मस्त तधी जुल कि थःगु भाय् लोमना वनीगु परम्परा धैथें जुया वै च्वंगु सी दु । क्य् बिया तयागु तालिका -३ कथं थ्व खं स्पस्ट जूगु सी दु ।

तालिका - ३

		नीलः			सौरभ		
	खंत्वाः	१९			२४		
	खंग्वः	१३८			२०३		
१	कारक,	२	१०	प्रतिशत	३	१२	प्रतिशत
२	बगीकृत प्रत्यय	५	२६ ,,		१३	५४	,,
३	स्तरीकरण	३	१५	,,	१०	४१	,,
४	ह्रस्व दीर्घ	०	००	,,	२	८	,,
५	वाक्य संगठन,	२	१०	,,	२	८	,,
६	आगन्तुक शब्द	१	५	,,	१३	५४	,,
७	भाषान्तरण	३	१५	,,	२	८	,,
८	बोध गम्यता	६	३०	,,	२	८	,,

थ्व तालिका कथं छु सी दु धासां इमित नेापली स्वयाः अंग्रेजी अनुवाद अःपु । सौरभ स्वयाः नीलःया भाय् पुवं । सौरभया मां भाय् ज्ञां नीलः स्वया तापाना वना च्वंगु दु । तालिका २ व ३ दाजे याना स्वयेबलय् सौरभं त्यासा खंग्वः (Borrowed words) यको हे छेला तःगु दु ।अले बुलुं स्तरियकरण (Standardization) नं याये मसया वंगु दु । भाषान्तरणया ल्या अपोसां नीलःया नेवाः भाय् पुवं । वं त्यासा खंग्वः अपो मछ्यः । तर सौरभया अथे मखु । वया कारक(Case Mark), ब्वथलाग्वः (Classifier) व स्तरीय रुप(Standard Form)या ज्ञां यको हे ध्येचुलाः वनाच्वंगु दु । थ्व सौरभया व्यक्तिगत कमजोरी लाकि नेपाःया मंकाः नेवाः मस्तय्गु समस्या । थ्व छगू बिचारनीय बिषय भापे माला च्वंगु दु । अझ दुबिस्ता ब्याकाः खँ ल्हायेगु खःसा 'जगत सुन्दर ब्वने कुथिंया मस्तेगु (श्रेष्ठ १९९५) भाय् ज्ञां व मेथाय् स्कूलय् ब्वना च्वंपि मस्तेगु भाय् ज्ञांया तथ्य ज्वलं मुंका तुलना यानाः स्वयेबलय् यकों बः काये थाय् दया वै । थ्व बारे सुनानं मन तयाः अनुसंधान याना यंकेफत धाःसा नेवाः मस्तेगु नेवाः भाय्या स्थिती स्पष्ट जुईक खने दया वै ; ।

लिच्वः(Conclusion)

थ्व अनुसंधानं छु सीदत धाःसां नेवाः तयेगु समाजय् थःगु भाय् ल्हायेमाः धाईपिं न्ह्याको हे हाला च्वंसां स्कूल वनीपिं मस्तेसं थःगु भाय् ल्हायेगु त्वता हया च्वंगु दु । स्कूलय् थःगु भाय् मल्हाःसां छें मांबौपिनिसं ल्हायेगु यात धाःसा मस्तसें गुबलें लोमकी मखु । मस्तेत गुलि अपो भाय् छ्यल उलि याकनं सयेका काई । अले सया वःगु भाय् छेलां तुं च्वंसा लोमनी मखु । तर ल्हायेगु त्वता नेपालय् निगू भाय् ल्हायेगु याईपिन्सं नेपाली भाय् बांलाक सयेवं थःगु मां भाय् बांलाक सै मखु धाये मज्यू । नितां भाय् समान रुपं

छेला यंकल धासा नितां पुवंक सयावई । तर वेबस्तर (१९९६) जुं याना दीगु अनुसंधान कथं बाज्य वने धुंकूपिं भति भति जक ब्वना त:पिं मगा:तय् सय् ७०-८० ब्व मनूतयेसं छुं भचा जक नेपाली भाय् स: धैगु खँ न्ह्यथना दीगु दु । छाय धासां इमिसं न्हीया न्हीथं मगा: भाय् जक ल्हाईगु ख: । तर सुं मनू स्कूल वना च्वंम्ह जुल धा:सा नेपाली भायूया ल्हायेगु प्रतिशत अपो जू । अले थ:गु मांभाय् नं बालक हे सई । अथे हे वेबस्तरजुं गुरुङ समाजय् याना दी:गु अनुसंधानं (वेबस्तर १९९६) छु लिच्व क्यनादिल धा:सा गुरुङभाय् मल्हाइपिं गुरुङत नेपाली भाय् जक सैगु खने दत । अकें नेवा: मस्त नं लिपा नेपाली जक सयेफु । थन क्यय् न्ह्य ब्वयागु स्वादेश धल:या परिक्षण कथं [२] छु सीदु धा:सां अमेरिका थ्यंगु ३३४ दिन क्यं बलय् सौरभं ३३ प्रतिशत नेवा: भायूया खँग्व: लोमने धुंकल । अले अमेरिका थ्यना: ४५५ दिन दुबलय् यानागु परिक्षण कथं नील:या ४१प्रतिशत खँग्व: लोमने धुंकल । थुकें नं छु सीदु धा:सां मस्त त:धि जुल कि थ:गु भाय् लोमना वनीगु जुया च्वन । अकें मस्त नाप मां अबुं कत: भाय् मखु कि थ:गु हे मां भाय् ल्हाना च्वनेगु यायेमा । मेगु भाय् पासा संगतं सया वई । थ:गु भाय् मां अबु, थ:थितीपिं फुकसिनं ल्हाना क्यनेमा नत्र लिपा मस: पह: पिहां वया: थ:गु भाय् ल्हाये थाकुई । अले थ:गु भाय् कत: कत: भाय् थ:गु जुया नेवा: हे मखया वनेफु । अये जूगुलिं मां-बौ जुया थ:गु भाय् ल्हाना: मस्तेगु निम्तिं भिंगु लाय् तया थके मा:गु जिं तायेका च्वना । सुभाय् !

तंसा खँ

१ वंगु प्यदं न्ह्य: निर्से नेपालं थी थी हुनि अमेरिका भ्रमण जक मखु इहिपा व मेमेगु पारिवारिक कारणं थन हे च्वनेत नेपालं व:पिं नेवा: मस्त व तथीपिं नाप लायेगु मौका चूला:गु ख: । इपिं जन्मं नेवा: जूसां इमिसं बालक नेवा: भाय् मस:गु जक मखु कि छेँ हे खं मल्हाइपिं जुया च्वन । इपि मध्ये शर्मीला रघुबंश, रोजिता रघुबंश, अनुपमा श्रेष्ठ, इहिपा जुया व:पिं जुल । अले बिबेक श्रेष्ठ, बालकृष्ण जोशी, आशीस मायेमा, जेशन मास्के, प्रतिस्था रंजीत, अमिता मालाकार, किशोर श्रेष्ठ, अरूणा प्रधान, रोजी माली आख: ब्वं व:पिं जुया च्वन । इपिं फुकं झिंन्यादँ निर्से नीदँ फूच्वा:पिं नेवा:त जुया च्वन । तर थ:गु भाय् धासा मस: । छाय् ? थुकेया लिस: छगू हे दु ल्हायेगु चलन मदु । थुलि जक मखु नेपालय् निला दुम्ह म्ह्याय् त्व:ता व:म्ह सुधोदन रंजीत थ: म्ह्याय् न्याला क्यं बलय् जूगु जंकोया भीडीयो खना बलय् छु सीदत धासा नेपालय् थौ कन्हय् त:धीपिसं (Adult) थ:गु मां भाय् ल्हा:सां मस्तेत खंय् भासं न्वाईगु जुया वल धैगु सिल । थ्व छगू अद्‌भुतगु ह्यूपा: वया च्वंगु दु नेवा: तयेगु समाजय् । जि थ: हे सस: खल:या थ:थितीपिं फुकेसियां तता, तताजु, पीत, दिवाजु, मलेजु, बाज्या खँग्व: झी नेवा: भायूलय् द:सां दिदी, भाउजु, भिनाजु, माईजु, हजुरबा: खँग्व: छेला च्वंगु जक मखु मस्तेत तधीपिंसं खँय् भाय् ल्हाना: नवाईगु याना च्वंगु हे झिदँ मयाय् धुंकल । आ: ला छु जक यात जुई मस्यु ? मस्त फुकसितं अनेवा: जकं याना मछोला ? उबले " मस्तेत खँय् भाय् स्यनेमा: अले धका मस्त चलाख जुई " धा:पिं नं मदूगु मखु । उबले निर्से मस्तेगु नेवा: भायूया भविश्यबारे छुं याये मा:गु वा: चायेकागु ख: । मा:गु ज्वलं चूमलाना च्वंगु ख: । आ: थन निम्ह मस्तयेत दसु कथं नाला: थ्व च्वसु च्वयागु जुल । थुकेया लिच्व पुवंगु धाये मछिँ तर छुं छुं खँ धा:सा हानं हानं अनुसंधान याईपिनिगु लागी सेल्लागु तिव: जुईफु । थ्व मस्त नाप खँय् भाय् ल्हायेगु ह्यूपा: गुलि तक समाजय् दुसुना वना च्वन सीके बह: जू । थन दछि ति न्ह्य: नेपालं अमेरिका व:गु नेवा:परिवारया मस्तयेगु मांभायूया स्थिति जाचे यायेगु तातुना थ्व च्वसु च्वयागु ख: । थ्व च्वसुया लिधंसा कया मेमेपिं मस्तयेगु नं नेवा: भाय् ज्ञां जाचे यायेत छगु नमूनाया रुपय् छेले ज्यू । थ्व च्वसु ब्वना:थ:गु दु ग्यंगु बिचा प्वंका: दिगुलिं मयेजु जुही सुवाल्यात सुभाय् देछाया च्वना ।

२. सौरभया परिक्षण मे १ता. अले निल:या परिक्षण अगस्त २१ ता. १९९८ सं यानागु जुल । इपिं अमेरिका व:गु मे १९ता. १९९७ जुया च्वन ।

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लितंसा (Appendix)--१

ब्वनेगु शीप (Reading Proficiency)

पायेछि जुगु (+) व पायेछि मजुगु (-)

	नील:		सौरभ
१-------	(+)		(+)
२-------	(+)		(+)
३-------	(+)		(+)
४-------	(+)		(+)
५-------	(+)		(-) थः थिति
६-------	(-)	दुत माकाःपि	(-)थवंथः,भातया हे दु माकाःपि
७-------	(-)	पिक्य	(-) पिक्य
८-------	(-)	मखा	(+)
९-------	(-)	जुइगु जुइक्व	(+)
१०-----	(+)		(-) फैगु जुल
११-----	(+)		(+)
१२-----	(-)	वाथ यिथि	(+)
१३-----	(+)		(+)
१४-----	(+)		(+)
१५-----	(+)		(+)
१६-----	(+)		(+)
१७-----	(+)		(+)
१८-----	(+)		(+)
१९-----	(-)	संधू	(-) तग्वःगु
२०-----	(-)	त्रंक पंचिना	(-) त्रंक
२१-----	(-)	बंय् सं दिकाः,मल्य्	(-) त्वकेत ज्यूत्र
२२-----	(-)	निछ्या भू	(-) निछ्या भू
२३-----	(-)	वंजल्र	(-) वंजल्र
२४-----	(+)		(+)
	(+) १४	५८.१ %	(+) १५ ६२.५ %
	(-) १०		(-) ९

लितंसा – २

स्वादेश धलःया परिक्षण

नेपाल भाषा	सौरभया ज्ञां	नील:या ज्ञां
जि	+	+
जिपि	+	+
छ,	+	+
व	+	+
थ्व	+	+
सु	+	+
छु	+	+
म-	+	+
फुकं	दकों	दकों
आपा	यको	यको
छि	छउ	छउ
नि-	निउ	निउ
त-धं	+	+
ताहाकः	ताजा	लाम्मो
चि-धं	+	+
मिसा	+	+
मिजं	+	+
म्नू	+	+
न्या	+	+
झंगः	+	चरा
खिचा	+	+
सि	+	+
सिमा	+	+
पुसा	+	बिउ
लप्ते	+	पात
हा	जरा	जरा
खोल्रा	बोक्रा	बोक्रा
छ्येंगू	छाला	छाला
ला	+	+
हि	+	+
क्वयें	हाड	हाड
दाः	बोसो	+
खें	+	+
न्यकू	सिङ	सिङ
न्हिपं	+	पुच्छर
पपू	पखेटा	पखेटा
सँ:	कपाल	+
छ्यं	+	+
न्हाय्पं	कान	+
मिखा	+	+
न्हाय्	नाक	+
म्हुतु	मुख	+
वा	+	+

म्ये	जिब्रो	जिब्रो
लुसि	नङ	+
तुति	+	+
पुलि	घुंड्रा	घुंड्रा
ल्हा:	+	+
प्वा:	पेट	+
गःपः	+	घाँटी
दुरु	+	+
नुगः	मुटु	मुटु
सें	मुटु	मुटु
ल्वंगु	पिउनु	+
नयेगु	+	+
वांन्यायेगु	टोक्नु	टोक्नु
स्वयेगु	खन	+
न्यनेगु	सोध	सोध्ने
त:मि	धनी	धनी
सियेगु	+	+
सीगु	+	+
स्यायेगु	+	+
जिचा	?	ज्वाई
ब्वयेगु	उडे	उड्नु
वयेगु	+	+
वनेगु	+	+
लिधनेगु	-	?
पयतुईगु	+	+
दनेगु	उठ	उठ
बीगु	+	+
धायेगु	+	+
निभा:	सुर्य	+
तिमिला	चन्द्रमा	चन्द्रमा
नगु	तारा	तारा
ल्वं	अप्पा	ढुंगा
वा वयेगु	+	पानी
ल:	+	+
फि	बालवा	बालवा
बँ	+	?
खसु	आकास	सुपायं
कुं	+	धु वां
मि	+	+
नउ	कोइला	?
मिंनये	+	+
तं	+	रीस
लं	+	+
ह्याउं	+	+
वाउं	+	+
म्हासु	पहेंलो	पहेंलो
तुयु	+	सेतो
हाकु	+	+
चानय्	+	रात
क्वा:गु	+	गर्मी
न्हूगु	+	नया
ख्वाउं	+	चिसु
जायेक	भरेजु	+
बांला	दयालु	+
चाक्वा:	+	गोलो
गंगु	+	सुके जुल
नां	+	+
	−३३ %	-४१ %
	+६७ %	+५९ %

लितंसा – ३

सौरभ व नीलःया नेवाः भाय् छ्यलिगु स्थिति

दकले कम निसें दकले अपो (१---१०)

मां व मचात	- २
मां व बा	- ७
बा: व मचात	- १०
माँ व मांया माँ	- १०
मचा व बाज्या खल:	- १
मचा व निनि, काकी	- २
मचा मचा -	- ० स्कूल
मचा मचा	- ५ (जःला खःला)
मचा थवं थः	- १ (छें)
मचा व गुरु ,गुरु मां	- ०
मां या पासा पासा	- ८
बाया पासा पासा	- ८

शिक्षाया पहः[१]

योगबीर शाक्य , कालिम्पोङ, भारत

सुनसान श्रेणीया कोथा कोथाय्
शिक्षक शिक्षिका तयेगु न्ह्योने हे
विद्यार्थी तयेत बलात्कार याना च्वन
शिक्षा मनुखं ।
तर , विद्यार्थीतसें छु स्यू ?
खडग व ग:प:या स्वापू
न जा स्यू खडगं ल्हा: व ग:प:या स्वापू ,
न ला स्यू ग:पतं ल्हा: व खडगया स्वापू ।

अथेसां,
विद्यार्थीत परिपक्व मजुईकं ब्वलंका च्वन
थ:प्वाथय् न्ह्यपुई भावी सन्तानया जन्म
उफ ! न्यने माला च्वन सकसिनं
प्रसव पीडा विद्यार्थीया -
थ्व ब्वने कुथी थयागु छाय् दूगु जुई संसारय्
खण्डहर जुईगु नि बरु थ्व ब्वने कुथीत ,

अन पुरातत्ववेत्तातसें बांलागु थाय् दयेका
पर्यटकतयेत साला:काये फयेकेगु नि ।
झी ब्वने ला माली मखु ,
सफूया ह्नं कोबीपि ह्न: जुइमखु झी,
अनुसाशनया कोर्ती नुगलय् दी मखु जुई
अले सफूया पौत हावाजहाज व रकेट
दयेका: ब्वयेके ला दइ ।
छगू 'सुपर कालामिटी ' जुईमा
गबलें ब्वने कुथीया गं न्यने म्वा:ले मा,
गबलें छु याये मं दु व हे याये दयेमा,

अले, झीगु सीमाबद्ध विचा:या फ्लेसा
असीम विचा जुयेमा
बन्धन युक्त ई: मुक्त स्वतन्त्र ईलय् हिले दै ।
स्वी निपु वाया निपु वा ल्यं दुम्ह बुराम्ह शिक्षकं
नीति शास्त्र ब्वंकेत खँग्व: माला च्वनी
तर नि शब्द लुमंका च्वनी-
विद्यार्थीतसें छु स्यू खडग व ग:प:या स्वापू ?
न जा स्यू खडगं ल्हा: व ग:प:या स्वापू ,
न ला स्यू गपतं ल्हा: व खडगया स्वापू ।

1 *sikshyayā pahah* " A Form of Education" A Poem by Yogbir Shakya

प्राज्ञ भाजु धुस्वाँ सायमिजु लिसे खँला-बला[१]

नेपाल भाषाया नां दंम्ह साहित्यकार जक मखु हिन्दी भायूया नं छम्ह शसक्त बाखं च्वमि व उपन्यासकारया रुपय् म्हसिया च्वंम्ह प्राज्ञ भाजु धुस्वां साय्मियात वयेकलं नेपाल भाषाया बिकासय् यानादीगु देन्या हना कथं ने.सं. १११८सं नेपाल भाषा परिषदं "भाषा थुवाः" या उपाधि देछायेगु घोषणा यागु जुल । थन जिमि सहसंपादक मयेजु उमा श्रेष्ठं नेवाः विज्ञान दंपौ पाखें कया हःगु थ्व खँला-बलाया सारांश थन छिकपिनि न्ह्यने न्ह्यब्वया च्वना । ई बियाः थःगु नुगःखँ प्वंका दीगुलिं वेकःभाजु धुंस्वाःयात जिमिगु यको यको सुभाय् दु । -सं

१. छिगु नां 'धुस्वां खः तर थ्व नां सुं नं नेवाःतय् परम्परागत नां तयेगु झ्वलय् मिले जूगु मखना अकें गथे जुया थ्व 'धुस्वां' धैगु नां च्वं वल ? थुके छुं न्हयइपूगु खँ दुसुना च्वंगु दु ला कि ? अले सायूमि थर छेला दीगुया प्रेरणा गनं दत ले छितः ?

जि भारतय् ब्वना च्वनाबलय् जिगु खास नां 'गोबिन्द' धयाबलय् थ्वला इण्डीयन नां खः । छला इण्डीयन का धाबलय् उकेया हे प्रतिकृया स्वरुप जिं थःगु नां धुस्वाँ तयागु खः । उबलय् जि नेवाः भाय् मसः । जिं स्यू स्वाँ धयागु Flower यात धाईगु । अले धू धयागु Dust । उकें हे थ्व निगू शब्द स्यूगुलिं थ्वया मतलब कमल स्वाँ जुइफु धकाः मती तयाः धुस्वाँ नां तयागु खः । सायद जिं अबले कमल स्वाँयात नेवाः भासं पलेस्वाँ धाईगु धकाः स्यूगु जूसा जिं थःगु नां पलेस्वाँ तैगु जुई ।

धायेत ला धुस्वाँया अनेक अर्थ देशी विदेशी विद्वानतयेसं याना च्वंगु जिं चाः । झी नेवाः तयेसं सुना नं थ्व स्वां धकाः मस्यू । धुस्वाँ छता स्वांयागु हे नां खः । छगू जातयागु स्वाँया नां खः । थ्व धकाः मस्यूपिन्सं नेवाः भाय्यात धुलय् वाँ छ्वया तःगुयात स्वां थें ह्वेका ब्यूगुलिं जितः नेवाः तयेसं धुस्वां धकाः धागु खः धका धाःपिं नं दु । धुस्वाँया विषयलय् यक्कोसिनं बिभिन्न किसिमं चर्चा याःगु दु । जि थन व फुक्कं हे धाये बलय् उलि ज्या लगे जुई मखुला ? अयूनं जिं छगू निगू धाये । गुम्ह सिनं झी नेवाःतय् पुज्याय् बलय् मदयकं मगाःगु धुं व स्वाँया अपभ्रंस नं धाई । गुम्हस्निं धुँ धयागु धुँ, स्वाँ धयागु स्वाँ हे । धुँ थन Tiger यागु sense य् नं काःगु दु । तर धाथें धाये माल धाःसा जिं नं मस्यू थ्व खँ । न्हापा थ्व स्वाँ दु धाइ । थ्व स्वां जितः छम्ह सिनं क्यंबलय् उकी स्वाँ मखु हः जक अले व हः लय् धुँयाके च्याः च्याः दु थें थ्व स्वांलय् नं च्याः च्याः दु । अकें धुँस्वाँ धाःगु । थ्व स्वाँ वासः यायेत नं छेले ज्यू ।

सायमी ला जिं न्हापा धुस्वाँ छेले न्ह्यः हे तये धकाः विचाःयाये धुंगु खः । जि छकः न्हू सालय् थःगु छें च्वं च्वनाबलय् चिकं दयेकेगु सालं म्नूत प्यहां वल । जिमी तताःजु छम्ह ब्वना तःगु खान्दानयाम्ह खः । वयेकःलं धै दिल । "का स्व हुं का सायमीत वन ।" जिं न्यना झीपि सायूमित मखुला ? "मखु, ब्वना तःपि फुकं मानन्धर, ब्वना मतःपि फुकं सायूमि जुई ।" धागुलिं जिं आः नं लुमैंनि अबले नकतिनि Matric पास याना काठमाडौ वयाः च्वनागु । जिं धया "तताःजु जिं गुगुं प्रकारं थ्व देशय् अथवाः विदेशय् नां कमे याये बलय् जिगु नांया लिउने मानन्धर तयेमखु सायूमि तये ।"

२. थौकन्हय् नेवाः परिवारय् मां बौ पिन्सं थः मस्तेत नेवाः भाय् स्येने गुलि उलि ध्यान तःगु खने मदु अले मस्तेत मुले तया खंय् भांसं न्वायेगु याना है च्वन । उलि जक मखु नेवाः मस्तेत मां अबुं हे नेवाः भाय् मल्हासे तप्यंक हे 'खंय् भाय्' ल्हायेगुली अपो बः बिया च्वंगु दु । अले मस्तेत नं नेवाः भाय् ल्हायेत मछिं पहः महसुस जुया च्वंगु दु । थन्यागु स्थिती छिगु बाल्यावस्थाय् नं महसुस याना दिया ला ? थ्व जूगुया मू कारण छु थें च्वं छिगु बिचारय् अले थ्व मनोवृतीयात पनेत झीसं छु पलाः ल्ह्वंसा प्रभावकारी जुई थें च्वं ? थ्व स्थिती गथे यानाः तापाका यंकेगु ?

थ्व तसकं हे बांलागु प्रश्न खः । तर थुकी झीसं विचा यायेमाः कि थौ कन्हय् मां-बौपिन्सं मस्तेत नेवाःभाय् छाय् मसेन धकाः । उके दकोसिबे तःधंगु कारण खः । झीगु सरकारं मां भायूनं ब्वंकेगु याना तःगु मदु । अले ब्वने बलय् इमिसं नेपाली हे

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[१] *Prājnā Bhāju Dhuswāṃ Sāyami lise..* "An Interview with Dhuswāṃ Sāyami" (see page 47 for English version)

ब्वने माः अथवा खँय् भाय् नं हे ब्वने माः । अले नेवाभाय् नं सयाः खँय्भाय् नं ब्वने माःबलय् ब्वनेगुली इमित भचा थाकुया वैगु । सिक्क हे तेजस्वी मस्त नं भचा-भचा न्हेचिला वनीगुलिं जिं स्वयेबलय् थौ कन्हय् मां-बौतय्सं नं थ्व competition यागु जमानाय् इमित नेपाली भाय् वा खँय् भाय् स्यनीगु खः । तर थन प्रश्न दु जि मचाबलय् गय् च्वं धैगु बारे । जि मचाबलय् नेवा भाय् सहे मसः । जि काठमाडौलय् हुर्के जूम्ह नं मखु । जि तराईया गामय् हुर्के जूम्ह । जिम्सं अन भोजपुरीतये साम्न्ती खलः जूगुलिं जिम्सं हिन्दी खँ ल्हायेगु याना । लिपा जिमि बाज्यां नेवाःनी बिहायायेगु सा नेवाः भाय् सयेके हे माः । नत्रसा मस्यनी बिहा याना बी धाःगुलिं ग्यानाः हे जिमिसं नेवाः भाय् सयेकाः । सायद थुकीयागु हे प्रतिकृयां जिं नेवाःभाय् बांलाक सयेका । जितः थौ थः हे आश्चार्य जू । जि छम्ह नेवाः भाय्या Established लेखक खः ।

३. राणा काल,पंचायत काल व न्हूगु संबिधान कालय् नेपाल भाषाया स्थिती गथे गथे च्वं ? आः झीसं छु पलाः ल्हवने माःगु दु थें च्वं छिगु विचारय् थ्व भाषा बिकासया निम्तीं ?

राणाकालय् जिं नेपाल भाषायागु बारे छुं अनुभव याये मनः । छाय्धाःसा जि ब्वनागु हे उखे जुल । खालि न्य जक न्यनेगु कि राणा कालय् नेवाः भासं च्वःपिन्त, खँ ल्हापिन्त जेल तक नं छोगु दु । छता खँ थन प्रश्नय् मदुसां जिं धाय् । २००७ साल लिपा जिपि सः मसः नेवा भासय् वया । जि आतक लुमं दकले न्हापांगु बाखं 'भाग्य रेखा' धका च्वयाबलय् छध्वः जक नेवाः भासं अले फुकं हे हिन्दी च्वया छ्वया । अबले प्रेम दाई नं (प्रेम बहादुर कंसाकारं जितः प्रेरणा बीत फुकं वेकःनं नेवा भासय् याना बिल । उकें जिं न्ह्याबलें धाये कि जिगु नेवाःभाय्या साहित्य गुरु प्रेम बहादुर कंसाकार खः ।

आ थन सवाल वल । थ्व न्हूगु संबिधानय् ला प्रत्येक राष्ट्रीय भाषा मातृभाषायात प्रगती यायेगु, बिकास यायेगु खँ दु । तर ब्यबहारय् थ्व जुया च्वंगु मदु । अले यक्व नेवाः भाय् लेखक, भाषा प्रेमी, साहित्यकारत दःसां जिपिं ज्वःपिं न्हापाथें उत्साह नं थौ कन्हय् मसं । सनीगु ई मदु धायेला, सनीगु भावना मदु धाये ला, व जिं धाये मफु । जिं ला न्ह्याबलें हे थ्व हे जवाफ बी । जिगु ज्या च्वयेगु खः साहित्य सेवा यायेगु खः । भाषायागु निम्ती जि ल्वानाः सने मफु । जिं थःगु च्वयेगु सृजनात्मक समययात अथें छोये मफु । उकेया निम्तीं अलग्ग हे मनू तयेसं ज्यायाना यंके माः । भाषप्रेमी जि मखु धयागु मखु , जि भाषा प्रेमी खः । तर जिं भाषायात, थःगु श्रृजनायात, थःगु अभिब्यक्तीयात जिं जिगु साधन भापिया च्वनागु दु ।

४. थौया स्थीति नेपाल भाषायात नेपाःगालय् जक लिकुंका तयेगु मखये थुंकल तर नेपाः गालं पिने धासा नेवाः तयेगु जमाथ यक्व थासय् दःसाँ नां दंगु संस्था पाखें लुधनापूगु पलाः छिनाः नेपाल भाषाया प्रचार प्रसार जुया च्वंगु खने मदु । थन छु मिले मजुया च्वंगु दु थें च्वं छिगु बिचारय् ?

नेवाः भाय्यात नेपाः गालय् जक लिकुंका तयेगु ला छु नेपाः गालय् हे नं मदया वने थुंकल । छुं परिवारय् छथाय् निथाय् थ्व बांलाक ल्ह्यना च्वंगु दु । नत्र ला थ्व भाय् खाली साहित्यय् जक म्वाना च्वंगु दु । जितःला गबलें गबलें थ्व भाय् संस्कृत थें मृतभाषा जुई ला धकाः ग्याना वः । हानं थ्व नेपाः गालं पिने जि थम्हं हे अनुभव यानागु दु कि गबलें जि बिराट नगर वना । गबलें जि पाल्पा वना , गबले धरान सा, गबले पोखरा । न्ह्याथाय् नं भाय् प्रति ममता व उत्साह दु । जाती व संस्कृतिप्रति इमिके यक्व हे प्रश्नत दु । इमिसं छता हे जक धाईगु । भाय् स्यनीपिं सुं वःसा जिमिसं सयेका काये । तर झीसं थ्व लोमंके मज्यू । नेवाः जाती धयागु सिर्फ भाषायागु मखु संस्कृति यागु नं खः । थौतक नेपाः दुने, नेपाः पिने, गालं पिने, गालं दुने गनं नं नेवाः त छगू पुचः जुया च्वंगु दुसा इमिगु संस्कृति जुया च्वंगु खः । काठमाडौ उपत्यकाय् हे झीसं भासा लोमंका छोये धुन धाःसा इमित दोष मब्यूसे नेवाः संस्कृतियागु एकता यानाः ज्या काःसा जक सफल जुई । नत्र 'भाषा मदयेकं जाती म्वाई मखु' धैगु जक मनन याःसा जिगु विचारं सफल जुई मखु ।

५. छि साहित्य ख्यलय् दुहां झायागु सुं व्यक्ती विषेशया प्रेरणा लाकि सामाजिक परिवेशया उपलब्धी ?

जि साहित्यकार जुई धकाः गुबलें नं विचार यानागु मदु । जिगु परिवारय् सुं साहित्यकार जूगु नं मदु । तर जि काठमाडौं उपत्यकां वनाबलय् जितः निगू class क्वय् तल । जि हिन्दी मसः धकाः । अले जिमी ककापिन्सं थुलि ब्वना तःम्ह काय्यात

क्य तल धकाः दजुं नुगलय् स्याकी धकाः प्रेमचन्द, शरदचन्द्रयागु उपन्यास ब्वंके बिल । अले जितः Unconciously जि छाय् कन्हय् प्रेमचन्द जुई मफई ? जि नं कन्ह्य छाय् शरदचन्द्र जुई मफै । थ्व जिगु उपन्यासकार जुईगु भावना जक खः । तर जिं अबले च्वया च्वनागु मदु । वयां लिपा जि जिमी मां बौयात नाप लायेत नेपाः गालय् वया बलय् जिं बरोबर हिन्दीं ब्वना च्वनागुलिं जिं हिन्दी च्वयेगु याना । थूगु किसिमं जि हिन्दी ज्वनाः साहित्य क्षेत्रय् वना ।

थन नेवाः भाय्यागु बिषयया प्रश्न खः । जि उथाय् जाना जानी मखु छगू अचानकं, अथें हे जि काशी हिन्दु विश्वविद्यालयलय् ब्वना च्वनाबलय् निम्ह मनू नेवाः भासं खँ ल्हाना च्वंगु खन । अले जित इपिं सु धकाः न्यने मास्ती वल । इमित नं जि सु धकाः न्यने मास्ती वल । इपिं ला जिमि अबु नारायण बहादुर मानन्धरं ब्वंका तःपिं प्रेम बाहादुर कंसाकार व पुष्पलाल श्रेष्ठ जुया च्वन । अले व हे प्रेम बाहादुरयात जिं थौ प्रेम दाई धाये । वयेकः नं उबलय् ' धर्मोदय ' संपादन याना च्वंगु जुया च्वन । जिं हिन्दी च्वया च्वंगु सीकाः वयेकःलं नेवाः भाय् लय् च्वयेगु अनुरोध यात, निर्देशयात । अर्के वेकःयागु हे प्रेरणां जि थौ नेवाः भाय्या लेखक जुयाः म्वाना च्वनागु दु । वेकः यागु प्रेरणा मदूगु जूसा जि लेखक हे जूसां हिन्दीया जुई नेवाः भाय्या जुईमखु ।

६. खला छिगु नां नेपाल भाषाया न्हांपांगु उपन्यास ' मिसा ' स्वया: छिगु ' गंकी ' उपन्यास पाखे यकोसिनं म्हसीकूगु दु। तर छिगु बहुमुखी प्रतिभा बाखंनय् जक सीमीत मजू। छिं नेपाल भाषा ख्यलय् मेगु छु छु बिधाय् च्वसा न्ह्याका दिया। दकले न्हापां पिहां वःगु च्वसु वा बाखं छु जुल थें ? अले छिं बाखँ बिधायात छाय् महत्व बिया दिया ?

जिं निबन्ध नं च्वया, सांस्कृतिक निबन्ध नं च्वया, समालोचनात्मक निबन्ध नं च्वया । तर जि आधारभूतय् छम्ह निबन्धकार खः । चाहे नेवाः भाय् जुयेमा चाहे हिन्दीया जुईमा, चाहे नेपाली भाय्या जुईमा । तर थौ कन्हय् जिगु स्वास्थयागु कारणं (जिगु छपा मिखाया रेटिना सेने धुंकूगुलिं) थःगु लेखक मनयात अभिव्यक्ती साला काये मफुगुलिं जिं कविता च्वया च्वनागु दु । जिगु कविता नेवाः भासं किताबयागु रूपं पिहां वये धुंकूगु दु । नेपाली नं च्वया च्वनागु दु । तर नेपाली प्यहां वःगु कविता संग्रह ला हिन्दी च्वयागुया अनुवाद जक खः । थौ कन्हय् जिं गबलें गबलें चायेक चायेक मखु मचायेक लच्छीया स्वसः कविता नं च्वयागु दु । व हे ३०० कबिता मध्ये हे २०५३ वैशाख धकाः अनुवाद जुया पिहां वःगु दु । अखुनु तिनि थ्व हे श्रावण महिनाय् जिं च्वये धुंकाः निना स्वया बलय् जि थः हे अचम्भित जुल । जिं ३५० कविता च्वया । उकिं जि थौ कन्हय् कविता च्वया च्वनीं । थन प्रश्न वयेफु नेवाः भासं छाय् मच्वया । दः हिन्दी तसकं हे अःपु । कवि दुर्गालालं " नेवाः भाय् छिगु मां भाय् खः । नेपाली छिगु बां हे मलाः । हिन्दी छिगु सिक्क बांला । उकी माध्ययम याना न्हयागु नं च्व " धाःगुलि जिं नेवाः भाय् ला च्वये फु । सुनां नं छापे याये धाःसा जिं अनुवाद याये । जिं स्वतन्त्र अनुवाद याना । उगु हे रुपं प्याहां नं वये धुंकूगु दु । 'धुस्वांया कविता ' धकाः । अले ' धुस्वांया कविता संग्रहः' धकाः क्यासेट नं पिहांवये धुंकूगु दु । उकिं जि कवि नं खः । थौ कन्हय् जितः उपन्यासकार व कवि नं धापिं दु ।

७. थ्व बिसौ शताव्दीया अन्ततक थ्यंबलय् नेपाल भाषा साहित्यं यको न्हुन्हूपिं साहित्यकार व कृतित जन्मयात। थौया झीगु साहित्ययात तुलनात्मक मिखां स्वयेबलय् बिश्व साहित्यया इवलय् थ्यंकेत अझ नं यको हे लिपा लाःगु तायेका च्वना। झीगु साहित्यय् छु चाःमचाः जुया च्वंगु दु थे च्वं छिगु बिचारय् ?

जिं थुके छगू हे पंक्ती जवाफ बिफु कि जि उपन्यास साहित्यय् लाः । जि थः हे उपन्यासकार जूगुलिं जिं छुं धाये मफु । छाय् कि उपन्यासय् कृष्णचन्द्र सिंह प्रधान थें ज्याम्हेसिनं थुलि तक धया बिल कि धुस्वांयात धुस्वाँ नं हे त्याके मफुनि । तर कवियागु संसारय् यक्को हे प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्तित्व Mature जुई धुंकूपिलय् पूर्ण वैद्य अथवा प्रतिसरा सायमीयाके दु । थुगुसी प्रतिभा पुरस्कारं सम्मानीत जूम्ह सुरेश किरण यको हे प्रतिभाशाली जू । वयेकःयागु कविताात हिन्दीं व जिम्सं नेपालीं अनुवाद यानाः न्यंके बलय् यक्को हे स्तर च्वय् लाः धकाः धैच्वंगु दु । उकिं जिं नेवाःभाय्यागु बारे कमसेकम कविता क्षेत्रे अनुदीत जुयाः वंसां विश्व साहित्यय् झीपि सुं स्वयाः नं कम मरू । खास जिं पूर्ण वैद्य, प्रतिसरा सायमि, सुरेश किरण थुपिं स्वम्हेसिगु कविता बालाक लुमं

इपिं यको हे चर्कोंपिं कवित खः । मेपिं आ थथें लुमम ।

ख ला नेपाल भाषा साहित्यया छुं छुं कृति अंग्रेजी भायूलय् अनुवाद जुया च्वंगु दु । हालय् तिनि चित्तधर 'हृदय'-जु यागु महाकाव्य 'सुगत सौरभ' अनुवाद जुल । विदेशी विद्वान तयेगु मिखाय् नेवाः भाय् व संस्कृतिया वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन नं यकों जुई धुंकल तर साहित्यया ख्यलय् धासाः उलि अध्ययन जूगु खने मदुनि । थुखे पाखे इमिगु नुगः साले मफया च्वंगुया छु कारण जुईफू थें च्वं ?

चित्तधर हृदय यागु ' सुगत सौरभ ' महाकाव्य अंग्रजी अनुवाद जुल विदेशी विद्वान पिनिगु मिखाय् नेवाः संस्कृति, नेवाः भाषा, नेवाः साहित्यया परिचय जुल । अवश्यनं अंग्रजिं अनुवाद ला जुई हे माल । तर वया सिके न्हापा जिं बिचाः याना जि हिन्दीया लेखक जुया मखु थुपिं हिन्दी अनुवाद जूसा नं झी जःला खःला देशय् यको हे झिपिं प्रचार जुई । अंग्रेजी धाल कि ला World य् हे वने माल । हिन्दी जुल कि ला तुरुन्त Recognize याई । जिगु हिन्दी किताब अनुवाद जुयाः उकें मेमेगु भासाय् वने धुकाः जि थौ खाली नेवाः भायूया नेपाःया लेखक मजुसे छम्ह बिश्वया लेखकया रुपय् वने धुन । उकिं जि हिन्दीया प्रेमी जुयाः जक मखु कि हिन्दी नं अनुवाद जुईमाः । खास यानाः कवि सुरेश किरणयागु छपु कविता भारतं अखुनु वःपिं प्रख्यात कवितेत 'घण्टाघरं' धाःगु कविता जिं छकूचा न्यंकाबलय् इपि तस्कं हे प्रभावित जुयाः छाय् हिन्दी अनुवाद मयाना ला धाल । आः जिमिसं दुर्गालाल नापं विचाः याना च्वनागु दु । जि थः स्वयं च्वनाः अले हिन्दीया हे सुं प्रोफेसरयात तयाः जिमिसं हिन्दी यंकेगु ला विचाः याये धुन । तर झी नेवाःतय् पाखे सल्ला या रुपय् ज्या गुलि जुई जिं धाये मफु ।

९. ने.रा.प्र.प्र.या दुजः जुयाः छितः गन्याःगु प्रेरणा दत अथवा छुं याना क्यनेगु स्थिती ला कि छ्वं स्याके माःगु स्थिती ? अले ने.रा.प्र.प्र. पाखें नेपाल भाषा बिकासया निम्ती गन्यागु परियोजना ग्वसाः ग्वया दियागु दु ?

वया बलय् ला जि न्ह्याईपुक हे वयागु खः तर च्व च्वं जिं छपु कविताय् धयागु नं दु

कुर्सी,
न्ह्यागु हे कुर्सी
व कुर्सी हे जुई ।
उके बन्धन हे दै ।
उकी दास्ता हे दै ।

अके थ्व धयागु मतलब छु धाःसां थौं थुकी च्वना च्वना धकाः जितः आनन्द मदु । तर उलि जुल कि थनयागु दुख, कष्ट, मानसिक तनाव, द्वन्द, दुबिधा खनाः जिं यको हे कवितात च्वये धुन । थ्व जिगु उपलब्धी हे खः ।

नेपाल भाषा बिकासया लागी थन बिधानय् दु , राष्ट्र भाषा थें बिकास जुईमाः । कवि सम्मेलय् नेपाल भाषाया कविता नं व्वं । तर थन छु दु धाःसां नेपाल भाषा व मेमेगु राष्ट्र भाषाय् यको फरक दु । नेपाल भाषा साहित्य यको हे न्ह्याना च्वंगु दु । मैथिली भाषायात मेगु भाषा थें थारु भाषा, गुरुङ भाषा, तामाङ भाषा थें हे व्यबहार जुइगु दु थन । छायधाःसां छगू करं हे जुईगु जुल । फुकं राष्ट्रिय भाषा बराबर । अले विशेष स्थान नेपाल भाषायात मदु । नेपाल भाषायागु साहित्य दुसां नं रचनात उलि मदु । जितः नेपाल भाषाया पिन्सं हे उलि मदत मयाः । उदाहरणाय रुपय् जि थौकन्हय् ने.रा.प्र.प्र.या प्रकाशन समिती नं दु । जि अन वये साथ हे संस्कृतियागु विषयलय् नेवाः भायूयागु छगू किताब छापे यायेत छगू अनुरोध याये धुन । व तुरुन्त हे शुरु जुई । तर वया सिकें अप्पो जितः छाय् छाय् जि छम्ह साहित्यकार जूगुलिं जिं सुरेश किरणयात छु अनुरोध याना धासां " छंगु नेवाः भाय् यागु कविता फुकं हती जिं छापे याका बी ।" प्रकाशन समिती जिं धाये नं धुन । इपिं नं तयार दु । तर आतक ला जिगु ल्हातय् मलाःगुलिं जितः थन आलोचना याये मास्ती वः । झी हे नेवाःत नं झीगु अधिकार कायेत ल्वाये मसः । थन हानं जिं हे छगू ' सयपत्री ' धाःगु पत्रिका संपादन यानागु दु । जिपिं प्राज्ञतयेगु छु विचार दु धाःसां न्हापां नेवाः भायूयागु विशेषांक पिकायेगु अले मेमेगु भायूयागु पिकायेगु । तर अयेनं छुं ठोस जवाफ मवःगुलिं जिं थौ तिनि विचार याना कि न्हापां मैथिलीयागु नि पिकायेगु । छाय् धाःसा इमिगु

तयार जुई धुंकल । नेवाः भायूयापिं तयार मजूनि । हानं नेवाः भाय् लय् छगू छु दु धाःसाँ थः हे Alert Culture धकाः Superior जुयाः मेपिं थें इम्सं धाःवई मखु । अले हानं जि थन भाषाय् मखु संस्कृती लाना च्वंगु दु । जितः गबलें गबलें तं वई जिं ला ठेक्का कया तयागु मदुनि । ग्वाके माल कि माला सालाः काइगु । दुर्गालालं नं धाल । गबलें गबलें मछिंगु परिस्थिती वैगु । छाय कि जि ला अन Direct सम्बन्ध मखुनि । तर अयनं जि थन प्राकाशन समिती थगुसी निसें क्नाःगु खः । वनाबलय् निसें जिं कोशिश याना ला च्वना दु । जिं छकः धाये नं धुन । भाषा भाषीयागु कवि सम्मेलनय् झी दुश्मन कर्पि मखु झी थः हे खः । नेवाः या दुश्मन नेवाः हे खः । बिजय बहादुरया दुश्मन धुस्वां हे जुई । धुस्वांया दुश्मन गोठाले जुई । थथे जुया च्वंगु दु । मेपिनि जाती तयेके व मदु । छम्ह नेवाः थाहां वल कि घ्वाना छोः । झी थाहां वल कि कोकायेगु चलन दूगुलिं थन Academy नं व हे जुया च्वंगु जिं खना च्वनागु दु । जि छम दुहां वये साथ जि छम्ह बेजातम्ह थें जुल । अले अछुत थें ब्यबहार याना च्वंगु दु । व जिं तसकं हे महसुस याना च्वनागु दु । नेवाः भायूया किसिमं जि थन Academy द्वाहां वयाः जित छुं फाईदा जूगु ला मरु । जि ला नेवाः भायूया लेखक हे मखु थें जुयाः वना च्वंगु दु ।

१०. छिं थन अमेरिकाय् च्वना च्वंपि नेवाः तयेगु कुतलं नीस्वंगु 'अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नेपाल भाषा सेवा समिति ' पाखें पिहां वया च्वंगु ' नेवाः विज्ञान ' नांगु जर्नल अफ् नेवार स्टडीज खना दिल हे जुई । थ्व दंपौ छिगु मिखाय् गथे ताल ? अले थ्वयात अझ नं प्रभावकारी यायेत छुं सुझाव बिया दी लाकि ?

जिं थ्व मखना नि । मखंक जिं छुं comment याये मखु । तर अय् नं जिं छु धाय् धाःसाँ पिने च्वनाः नेवाः भाय् यागु वा चाहे न्ह्यागु हे भाषा-भाषी यागु जुयेमा सेवा याना च्वंसा व तधंगु हे देन जुई । जिं नं चाः जितः New york के Visiting Professor जुयाः दच्छी ति च्वनागु दु । अन वन धायेवं झीतः नेवाः Feeling अपो दैगु । फुक्क हे सुनां थ्व ज्या याना च्वंगु खः इपिं फुक्क हे धन्यबादया पात्र खः । थ्व ज्या बांलाक जूयाः रचना प्रकाशीत याये फःसा बांलागु Market काई । Market काल कि ला नेवाः भाय् छु खः धकाः अथें हे सीकाः काई । नेवाः जातीत ला अथें हे स्यूगु दु । culture या निम्ती थन न्हापां नं प्रश्न वये धुंकल संस्कृतिया निम्ती नेवाः साहित्य गनं म्हसिके फःसा यक्को हे फाईदा जुई ।

११. जिमिगु चकं मिखां स्वये बलय् नेपाल स्टडीजंया इवलय् नेवार स्टडीजं छगू अभिन्न अंग जक मखु कि छगू स्वतन्त्र विषय भापे माःगु तायेका च्वना तर नेपालय् त्रि.वि.वि. अन्तरगतया नेपाल भाषा विभागयात भाषा व साहित्य जक सीमित मयासे चकंका यंकाः ' नेवार अध्ययन बिभाग ' जुल धाःसा नेवाः जुयाः नं नेवाः भाय् व संस्कृति अध्ययन यायेगु मं दुपिन्त जक मखु मेपिं अनेवाः तयेत नं अध्ययनया अवसर चूलाई धैगु जिमिगु विश्वास दु । थुके छिगु प्रतिक्रिया न्यने दै ला ? सुभाय् ।

थ्व दक्कोसिबे बांलागु प्रश्न खः । जिं नं विचाः याना च्वनागु खः कि नेवाः भाय् व साहित्य जक University स्येंगु मखु ' नेवार अध्ययन विभाग ' अथवा Center for Newar Studies धकाः देकेमाः । थुकी ला जिमिसं विचाः जक बीगु खः । जिपिं हे नं उखे पट्टी (त्रि.वि.वि.) जूगु जूसा यायेत न्ह्यचिले थाकुइ । थ्व ला एकदम हे बांलागु विषय खः । थुकी उप-कुलपतियात हे धायेमाःथें च्वं । छाय् कि जि न्हापा culture ब्वंका च्वना बलय् नं नेवाः culture ब्वंकूसा ठीक जू मखुसा खा स्याये थें स्याना बी धाईगु । नेवाः culture धाये सातं मेगु जातीया culture छाय् मरु धकाः नं प्रश्न वयेफु । तर थ्व तसकं हे बांलागु अले मदेकं मगाःगु विषय खः ।

थः मस्तयत
मां भासं हे खँ ल्हाके

Conference Paper Abstracts

"The Syntactic Typology of Newar and Tamang Languages (Nepal)"

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The 4th Himalayan Languages Symposium Deccan College, Pune, India,Dec. 7-9, 1998 :

The structure of word order or variation in word order is an interesting phenomenon among Sino-Tibetan (S-T) and Tibeto-Burman (T-B) languages. Matisoff (1993) and LaPolla (1993) have discussed the word order change from SOV to SVO as part of the typology of S-T syntax with some evidence from T-B languages. The present paper is based on the hypothesis that the two non-pronominalized T-B languages Newar and Tamang share certain common syntactic/semantic features but display many constraints induced by topicalization and focus on the one hand and clause chaining devices on the other. The constructions with non-final participle clauses and nominalized-relativized clauses in particular are grammaticalized into different types of grammatical functions in the two languages. The nature of the linkage between subject-verb and object-verb will also be compared to determine which constituent controls agreement and how variations in these parameters are related to the syntactic or semantic argument. Among the typological features investigated in Newar and Tamang, verb serialization and case-marking systems on agentive and objective nominal will be considered as factors in word order permutations, as suggested by Wheatley (1984, 1993). The Paper will thus seek to establish what features are significant in languages that share the conjunct-disjunct verb agreement, and whether these reflect an aerial typology of original source or stages in the grammaticalization of transitive and intransitive clauses in T-B.

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"The Social Ramifications Of Marrying The God Narayan"

Gregory Price Grieve,
University of Chicago, USA

27th South Asian Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison Oct. 16-18, 1998

Ihi is the Newar Samskara (life cycle ritual) in which young girls are symbolically married to the god Vishnu Narayan.This ceremony is a ritual marriage to the god Narayan, a form of Vishnu. The first day of the ceremony is devoted to ritual purification of the bodies of the girl and her parents. The ritual is called nisi yāye and takes place early in the morning at the girl's house. On the second day, further purification takes place, and then and the girl proceeds to the a communal area where, with many other girls, she will undertake the *Ihi.* After being seated, a measurement of the girl is taken with a yellow thread. The third day of the ceremony is called *kanyādān khunu* the day of the gift of a daughter. The fathers 'give' the daughters away to the god by carrying them three times around the sacrificial fire in a clockwise direction. This 'mock' marriage has huge social ramifications for Newar women. The status of Newar women differs from that of other Hindu women in the valley. Crucially, they can remarry and widowhood does not involve a loss of status.

Locating the Māhāsiddhās in Newar Buddhism

Tom Suchan
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The Māhāsiddhās, Great Accomplished Ones, from a diverse range of personages from kings to having obtained higher realizations in their lifetimes, acquired transcendental powers over physical and mental

phenomena. The tradition of great siddhās or master yoginis occurs both in Buddhism and Hinduism. The great siddhas are generally believed to represent real, historical personages whose lifespans coincided with the establishment of the great Buddhist learning centers during the Pala Sena Dynasties (7th to 12th centuries). In the Tibetan Vajrayana traditions, the great siddhas figure significantly as the authors and transmitters of many important texts. Although no similar teaching lineage per se occurs in Newar Buddhism, sick/has are mentioned in the Swayambhu Puran, and a siddhas are frequently represented in Newar Buddhist Art. Their importance is primarily related to Chakrasamvara, the deity of many Newar temples. This paper will examine what sick/has occur in Newar Buddhism and how they relate to the greater ontology of the Newar Buddhist community.

"Mandals, Monuments, and Manuscripts: The Four Yoginis of the Nepal Valley"

Natalie R. Marsh
The Ohio State University

śakti worship has been an underlying religious basis of all South Asia, and certainly of Nepal religions, whether Hindu or Buddhist. In recorded history and the creation story of Nepal, the Swayambhupurana, this female component is clearly important. In Buddhist practice in Nepal the chaturyoginis, four dynamic female deities, have served as personification of Sakti qualities. Four sacred sites were established at Sankhu, Pharping, Guheswari and temples built on the sites, to honor these female deities. Furthermore, their presence relates directly to Chakrasamvara Tantra, the primary esoteric Tantra of Newar Buddhist practice. Through iconographic, textual and inscriptional analysis of the four yogini temple sites, as well as Nepalese artists' manuscripts from Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the importance of the Yoginis can be placed within the larger mandalic construction of the Nepal Valley.

"Seeing the Unseen: The Kathmandu Valley as Chakrasaṃvara Mandala"

Dina Bandel
The Ohio State University,

Among the meditation cycles of the Heruka class tantras, the *Chakrasaṃvara* figures prominently in the technical practices of Tantric Buddhism, and especially on the Newar Buddhist tradition of Nepal. Based in the secret *āgama* shrines of many Buddhist Bāhās in the Katmandu valley, *Chakrasaṃvara* is one of the most important esoteric deities of Newar Buddhism, whose worship and meditation are not open to everyone, but only accessible to the select few who have undergone ritual training and initiation. Confined to these secret practices, *Chakrasaṃvara mandala* meditation is rarely seen by the general Buddhist community.

Textual references state that the Kathmandu Valley is conceptually understood to be in the form of the *Chakrasaṃvara Mandala*. To demonstrate the defining of the valley as this sacred diagram, the paper will explore the articulation of the mandala though the self arisen sacred places within the valley, especially the pithas of the eight Mother Goddesses. Furthermore, based on original translations of a Newar manuscript depicting the 64 forms of *Chakrasaṃvara*, the paper will also not only discuss the ontological source of the *Chakrasaṃvara* cycle in the Newar Buddhism, but will also revaluate the role of the *Aṣṭamātrikās* in the context of Tantric Buddhist methodologies of Nepal.

"The "Asokan" Stupas of Patan: An exploration of their Sacred Meaning"

Cathleen A. Cummings
The Ohio State University

Patan is a prominent Buddhist center in Nepal and is traditionally one of the oldest cities in the Kathmandu Valley. This paper will examine its four stupas, the so called "Asokan" stupas at the four intermediary quadrants on the outer edges of the old city. The primary focus of this discussion will be the antiquity of the four stupas, the whereabouts of the elusive "fifth" stupa at the center of Patan and the possibility that these five stupas signify a mandala like device protecting and containing Patan's sacred geography. By tracing the chronological development of the form of the stupa the paper will argue that the Patan stupas date to the early history of Buddhism in Nepal. The specific location of each stupa in relation to its immediate environment will also be discussed in order to confirm the early dating of each site as well as to demonstrate the greater function and meaning of each stupa in the context of Newar Buddhism. As part of this discussion the location and significance of the fifth Stupa at the center of Patan will be treated. Finally, this paper will look at the relationship between the four outer stupas to each other and to the fifth stupa in an attempt to show how they reveal a mandalic like pattern defining Buddhism in Patan.

Conference Declaration

The scholars who have participated in the conference on the **Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandala**, collectively made the following declarations in Kathmandu in the closing ceremony on November 5th 1998:

First: Adi Buddha Shree Swayambhu Jyotirupa Dharmadhatu Vagisvara is the foundation of the Buddhist culture of Nepal Mandala. Through the Conference, our knowledge about the Buddhist culture of Nepal Mandal has been increased and our faith and devotion to this culture has been reaffirmed. We thereby demand that there be greater attention of the concerned paid to the preservation and development of the Buddhist culture in and around the Kathmandu Valley, which has existed in an unbroken continuity for thousands of years.

Second: Given the special relation of Sakyamuni Buddha to the Buddhist culture of the Kathmandu Valley, the importance of his birthplace as a pilgrimage destination for all the Buddhists of the world, and its status as a World Heritage Site; we deplore the fact that although the master plan has been ready for several years, it has not yet been implemented. We are horrified to hear that precious antiquities have been lost from the site, and we demand that attention be focused on this critical situation. Indeed, this is a cause for national embarrassment in the eyes of the world. Bearing in mind the reputation and dignity of the nation of Nepal, we urge all local and national offices of the government to work for a prompt conclusion of the Lumbini project.

Third: The majority of Buddhists who live in the Kathmandu Valley or whose roots are here, whether they are young or old, women or men, lay people or priests, have no opportunity for the study or understanding of their own Buddhist culture. We therefore demand that schools and universities offer courses in Buddhism and Buddhist culture. Moreover, we together feel that it is necessary to found a Buddhist university, and we demand that this be undertaken immediately.

Fourth: Just as we speak of Tibetan, Indian, Chinese or Japanese Buddhists, so too here in the Kathmandu Valley there is an indigenous form of Buddhism which is well known as the Buddhism of Nepal Mandal. In order to better describe and identify this unique and ancient form of Buddhism we propose the establishment of a periodic seminar.

Fifth: Various universities and research centers around the world are undertaking study, teaching and research into Newar Buddhism. In Nepal itself, however, we lack a central reference point for such research. The Lotus Research Center has gone some ways towards realizing this by establishing an internet website; and we believe that a major information center dedicated to the study of Newar Buddhism must be established.

Sixth: Those Buddhist Newars who live in Nepal outside the Kathmandu Valley have traditionally followed Newar Buddhism; but because of a lack of Vajracharyas, they are now compelled to abandon their traditional rituals. Understanding this, there is an immediate need for concerned people to teach the traditional rituals, so that those dwelling outside the Kathmandu Valley need not abandon their own Buddhist culture and identity.

Seventh: Newar Buddhist treasures are being stolen every year: divine images, illuminated manuscripts, chaityas, and even the root deities of important monasteries. Yet these looted religious treasures are never found or retrieved although they occasionally surface in the international art market. We must guard this, our own material religious inheritance, while at the same time drawing world attention to the Nepalese government's apparent inability to protect our priceless heritage.

Eighth: The kingdom of Nepal is comprised of many religions, ethnic groups, languages, cultures, and political parties. Within this diversity, there is an abundance of co-operation, mutual respect, and affection. This co-operation, religious tolerance, mutual respect, and affection is the very foundation of the nation, and it is this relationship which sustains the nation. We believe that it is the duty of the whole of Nepal to avoid damaging this relationship by caring for every member equally.

Ninth: Nepal Bhasha has been stated as a national language in the Nepalese constitution. We call for the execution of the constitution recognizing Nepal Bhasha as an official language in Newar majority regions.

Tenth: This five day conference, including various seminars, exhibitions, and cultural programs on the riches of classical Newar Buddhist culture is complete. May the merit developing from its performance be dedicated to the support and welfare of all beings. May all beings be happy.

Lotus Research Center

Prayagpath, Lalitpur, Nepal
Phone 977-1-5-27510

The Lotus Research Center (LRC) is a registered non-profit organization committed to preserve and promote the Buddhist philosophy, religion, culture, art and architecture by means of research and study thereby contributing to the social development in conformity with religious culture in Nepal. With the initiation and joint efforts of a group of enthusiastic scholars and with the encouragements of Shozo Iijimaa, President of Sishin-kai, Japan. The LRC was established in 1988 and was registered in 1993 under Institution Registration Act of Nepal.

Aims and Objectives:

In order to achieve the goals, LRC has adopted the following aims and objectives:-

1. Carrying out research, study and instruction in the areas of religion, culture, art and allied subjects in Nepal
2. Translating and publishing Buddhist Sanskrit scriptures.
3. Helping the underpreviledge section of the Nepalese society in their efforts to acquire knowledge and skill.
4. Promoting cultural exchanges with national and international organizations with similar objectives

Since it's establishment the center has shown several activities including the following:

1. Research and Study on various topics of Nepalese Buddhism
2. Publication of Books and *Paleswan* (Lotus) Journal
3. Organized Seminars
4. Organized Training Programs for research activities
5. Essay Competition
6. Preaching Program
7. Translation of Ancient Buddhist Scriptures
8. Scholarships to Orphan Students

For details on these activities please visit center's website:

WWW.nepalonline.net/lrc
or contact by e-mail: lrc@Wlink.com.np

Nepal Study Program

Nepāl Bhāshā Sikshyā

(A Guide to learn the Language of Newars)
Specially prepared for Beginners
(An audio tape included for listening practice)

Prepared by
Daya R. Shakya
With Assistance of
Minu Manandhar and Mita Shrestha

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"The Difference Sāyā Makes: How people in the Nepalese City of Bhaktapur Use the Cow Festival to Produce, circulate and Utilize Sanctity"

Gregory Price Grieves
University Of Chicago

Secular scripture tells us that we are creators of the world, *Homo Faber*. While our other scriptures tells us that we are actors in a drama of divine creation and redemption, *Homo Religious*. This dichotomy obscures what actually occurs in such festivals as Bhaktapurs' Gāi Jātra (Cow Festival). In this paper I maintain that the sacred is both real and made by people. And, in fact, that reality's very human constructedness is what guarantees the experience of sanctity. To demonstrate my point, I concentrate on the difference a fake (*nakali*) goat sacrifice made for the resident of the Bhakapur Neighorhood of Suryabinayak. In order to articulate how the people of Bhaktapur generate and Manipulate sanctity I employ three methodological tools: hollowed fields, religious technologies and sacred strategies. Hollowed fields are ritualistic social arenas defined by the experience of a difference which is perceived as extra-ordinary, Religious technologies create these fields; they are those tangible practices, buildings, and discourses which agents use to generate experience which are different than the quatitdian. And sacred strategies are the ways people use this difference in order to, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, " impose the definition of the social world most in conformity with their interests."

The 19th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society Of Nepal (LSN) Kathmandu Nov.26-27, 1998. The papers related to Newar Studies are as follows:

"Comparative Study of Aspectual Auxiliaries in Newari and Japanese with special reference to 'cwane' and 'iru' "
Kazuyuki Kiryu

"Newar Constructional Links"
Dr. Austin Hale and Kedar P. Shrestha

"The Newar Concept of Time: Some Preliminary Observations"
Yogesh Raj

The 18th Annual Conference of the Linguisitc Society Of Nepal, Nov. 26-27, 1997. The papers related to Newar Studies are as follows:

"Dolakha Dialect of Nepal Bhasa"
Dr. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha

"Over the linguistic conquest of Mt. Everest"
Prof. Dr. Kamal P Malla

"Cultural context of the development of Nepal Bhasa"
Bert van den Hoek,

International Conference on "the Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandala", Organized by the LOTUS RESEARCH CENTER(LRC) Kathmandu, Nepal, November 1-5th, 1998.

The following papers were presented in the conference:

Papers in English

1. Mr. Hubert Decleer
   "Beyond the Cute Customs: Newar Buddhism In The Larger Context Of Buddhist History"
2. Dr. Alexander Rospatt
   "Literature on Swayambhu renovation"
3. Mr. William B. Douglas
   "Sources of the Gunakarandavyuha"
4. Dr. Anne Vergatti
   "Image and ritual: A bhimaratha Painting"
5. Rev. Sucho Takaoka
   "Newāh Buddhism in the context of world culture"
6. Prof. Todd Lewis ---
   "Preserving Newar Buddhism: Perspective and Proposals"
7. Mr. Min Bahadur Shakya
   "Monasticism in Newar Buddhism"

Papers in Nepal Bhasha

1. Dr. Bajra Raj Shakya
   "Characteristics of Buddhist Culture of Nepal Mandal"
2. Mr. Phanindra Ratna Bajracharya
   "Guthi in Newāh Buddhist Culture"
3. Mr. Madansen Bajracharya
   "Lokabaja in Newāh Buddhist Culture"
4. Mr. Chakra Mehar Bajracharya
   "Impact of physical environment in Newāh Budhism"
5. Mr. Munindra R. Bajracharya
   "Karunamaya Jatra in Newa Buddhist Culture"
6. Dr. Bhadra Ratna Bajracharya
   "Licchavi Society and Buddhism"
7. Rev. Sudarshan Mahasthavira
   "Role of Theravada tradition in the Conservation of Newa Buddhist"

Papers in Nepali

1. Mr. Kedar Shakya
   "Newāh Buddhism outside Kathmandu valley"
2. Mr. Yagya Man Bajracharya
   "Charyageet"
3. Mr. Punya P. Parajuli
   "Mahayana Buddhism of Nepal"

Questions and Answers

We thank Linda Iltis and Gregory Grieve for response to our questions relating to Newar Studies. We were unable to include them in the previous issue.

1. How did you learn about Newars as the possible field of study for your research?
2. What distinctive feature did you find in Newars from your research?
3. What are the areas not yet covered in Newar studies?

Linda Iltis

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University of Washington, USA
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1.I first became interested in Newars when I was taught Nepali by a Newar from Bandipur Nepal, Krishna Bhai Pradhan. He is an excellent Nepali instructor, and has such a wonderful sense of humor. He has inspired me to continue perfecting my understanding of fluency of Nepali language. After returning from a year-long university foreign study program in Nepal, (during which I undertook a migration study in Bandipur for an Anthropology program senior paper), I visited the home of Mr. Pradhan in Madison Wisconsin frequently to chat and have fun with the family. During the month of January, Mrs. Pradhan (Bishnu) invited me to attend their home recitation ritual of *Swasthāni Vrata Kathā* This text recalls not only the stories of Shiva and Parvati in their home of the Himalayas, but tells a poignant story of a young Nepalese woman who triumphs over her family problems by observing the ritual vrata of the goddess Swasthani, whose name means "one's own place". This text and ritual eventually became the focus of my dissertation research in Nepal.

When I returned to Nepal, I soon learned of the widespread abundance of Newar versions of this text, and decided that I had to learn classical Newari to understand why this text was so important. The Newari versions of this text expanded my knowledge of the religious tradition which had appeal for both Hindus and Buddhist Newars, and had become the original source of transmission of the knowledge of this text from Sanskrit via Newari to Nepali for other non-Newar peoples in Nepal. The Newar scribes created Nepali versions for the non-Newar peoples. Out of this initial interest in Newari I have expanded my interest in Newari ritual performance genres, especially in the pyakhan dance dramas. In 1987 I conducted research on the Harasiddhi, Pachali Bhairav, Nil Varahi, Sikahali, and Patan Gan pyakhan. I have also studied the Buddhist Hariti Ma traditions, and women's political songs and many other issues. My learning of Newari language opened a world of understanding that never was accessible from knowing just Nepali. I am forever indebted to my instructors, Krishna and Bishnu Pradhan, Gautam and Devi Vajracharya Mani Gopal Jha, Ratna Kaji Vajracharya, Asakaji Vajracharya, Kasinath Tamot, Acyutananda Rajopadhyaya, Prem Bahadur Kansakar and Paramananda Vajracharya for their patience and understanding. And many many thanks to all the Newars of Nepal for sharing their wisdom and humor with me. A special thanks to Daya Ratna Shakya for his unfailing motivation, and his desire to publish a journal of Newar studies.

2. Distinctive feature of Newars is their incredible sense of humor. Also, they love multiple meanings & double entendres.

3. Just about everything

Gregory Price Grieve,

Outreach Educational Project and South Asia Resource Center , University of Chicago, USA

1. I came to Newars because of my interest in religious architecture and questions of modernity, and what Newars showed me was that both my preconceptions about temples and modernity were incorrect. In the late 1980s I had spent almost two years traveling through Asia to photograph temple sites. In 1990 I arrived in Nepal during the revolution, and my understanding of temples and non-Western cultures changed radically. I realized that temples are not only historical relics but part of the contemporary world. What changed my view of temples was a visit to Bhaktapur, where Bhairav's wrath stood not only ornamented with traditional symbols, but hung head to foot with communist flags. While I still believe that Newars have much to teach the West, I came to realize that to be other than the West does not mean to be less developed or imprisoned in the

past. It means to have a unique understanding and way of approaching life.

2. Because of the literature I had read, I originally set out to examine Bhaktapur as an archaic culture, a relic of a more ancient period. Following the excellent scholarship of Robert Levy and Anne Vergati, I approached Bhaktapur through the relationship between gods and territory. However, upon arriving in the city and coming face to face with development, tourism, and politics, it became impossible for me to see Bhaktapur except as part of the modern world. Yet, even though Bhaktapur is part of the modern world, what is distinctive about its culture and that of other Newa cities is how Newars use temples, festivals, and other rituals to construct a unique social space.

3. Because Newar studies is a relatively young field, there are many lacuna. However, the largest gap is that scholars up until now have tended to approach Newars as if the essence of the culture is trapped in the past. This has come about because of the orientalist nature of Western scholarship and Nepali national politics. What needs to be done is for contemporary Newars to have a voice not only about the past but also about how they imagine the present and future. To my mind, than, the largest contribution the study of Newa culture has to offer is to map out how contemporary Newars view the world, and how they negotiate the modern world.

Tibetan-Newar Lexicon Book

(Re-published from Kathmandu Post 1/11/98)

A lexicon-cum-phrase book of Tibetan and Newar, the most researched languages of Nepal, outcome of the diligent hard work of Christoph Cuppers, Kashinath Tamot and Phillip Pierce, has been published recently from VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Bonn.

The book contains an edition, transliteration and English translation of Tibetan-Newar lexicon and phrase book, namely *A clear Mirror of Both the Newar and Tibetan Languages*, probably dating back to the end of the last or beginning of the present century. "The small but unusual book" was found by Cuppers when he was in Delhi for microfilming some ancient manuscripts. The manuscripts of the concerned book, consisting of three sheets folded into eight folios each, the latter measuring 8 x 25cm, is known to have been brought by Ladakh Amchi in a bazar in Lhasa before 1959. The date and place of the anonymous text is uncertain but some points indicate it's origin more to be Népal than Tibet. Supposedly, there were two authors who wrote the book from Yolmo/ Helmbu. The first must be a Tibetan with some Knowledge of the Newar language and the second was undoubtedly a Newar speaker from Patan, the book suggests.

The Tibetan phrases are found to be related with modern and colloquial Tibetan but some are already in texts of the 17th and the 18th century. Likewise, the Newar phrases appear to be very modern but are already documented in Kirkkpatrick, i.e., 1811,

The number of word entries is 721 while the number of phrases is 738 in the book which has 256 pages. The book gives words about environment, parts of a house, food, clothes parts of a tree, fruits, colors, adjectives, body parts, animals, insects, phrases, legal terms, religious items and many more. The book includes the plates of the manuscript and pictures of various objects referred in the book.

The text was conceived as a language guide for the Tibetans who had some reason to be in Nepal, particularly in the Kathmandu Valley.

Presenting the result to the public, Cuppers hopes that it will;be of some interest for students of spoken Tibetan and Newar; for linguists and those who are simple lovers of Nepal and it's unique culture, the book indicates.

A Letter from Asa Archives

Current Project in the Asa Archives
Kathmandu, Nepal

We are pleased to have received a copy of Newāh Vijnāna from Uma Shrestha while she was visiting the Asa Archives this summer. Since you have enquired about the condition of Asa Archives I am sending a copy of our publication Asha Archive (1995) which tells some history and information on this institution. Currently, the Archives is running various projects with collaboration of the Buddhist Library of Japan. The manuscripts and texts which have been already entered in the catalog are scanned and put on CDs for security purposes. After this project is complete all the Archive users will be able to use the CDs to access the texts and to prevent the damage to the originals. They can make a copy of texts from the CDs. The texts which are larger than A4 and A3 are divided into sections of two. This is taking longer than what we had targeted for this project. We expect to finish by the end of October 1998. Altogether, 5375 texts have been cataloged and 600 still need to be entered in the catalog. So in total we will have 6000 catalagued texts in the Archives. Because of limited budget we have not been able to create a web site to make them accessible through the internet. When the cataloging is over we will have a discussion about the next step.

This Asa Archive is not only our treasure we should take it as a world heritage treasure. Previously the Toyota Foundation of Japan also recommended that this Archives should be made accessible to the public. We have been doing so till now. Some people have still expressed their concern that since Prem Bahadur has passed away the Archive does not run well. That's not true. We are still thinking that as long as this Archive is running Pioneer Prem Bahadur will always be around with us. His contribution is our contribution. So because of lack of evaluation on his dedication we are still in the process of learning. The library he started at his residence 'Pradipta Pustakālaya' has been dedicated as the 'Prem Bahadur Memorial House'. Asa Archive was established in memory of his father Asha Man Singh Kasāh. In addition, we believe that this Archive is also a tribute to his dedication.

In the year 1986, when the 15th World Buddhist Conference was held in Kathmandu, the Archive had exhibited the valuable and important Buddhist manuscripts and texts. Similarly, at the recent conference on Newar Buddhists in Nepal Mandala organized by the Lotus Research Center, Lalitpur, we exhibited our current projects of the Archives and demonstrated the Digital accesses of Buddhist Manuscripts from CD rom.

We are happy to report that in the near future we are going to publish a brief catalog of the texts which have been already numbered in the cataloging system. If time permits we also have a goal to publish a catalog of 1044 colophons that have been secured in this Archives. But we will only be able to do this if the labor and financial support become available to us. Currently, this archive is running from the interest gained by a fixed endowment with very limited expenses. Given this circumstance, any personal contributions would be gratefully accepted. If you are aware of potential donors please have them contact us. Some of our future goals include: renovating the archive building to prevent moisture and insect damage.

Yours Sincerely,
Raja Shakya
Secretary
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CALL FOR PAPERS

5th Himalayan Languages Symposium

September 13-15, 1999
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Papers for the 5th Himalayan Languages Symposium may present the results of Scholarly research on any subject pertaining to Himalayan languages and Himalayan language communities. Possible topics include:

* Descriptions of previously undescribed languages
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* Comparative studies and historical reconstruction
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* Discourse and grammar in Himalayan languages
* Sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics, including analyses of kinship, ritual language and honorific system, etc.
* Historical and archeological findings relating to the prehistory of Himalayan language communities
* Language planning

About the Symposium

The Himalayan Languages Symposium is an open international forum where scholars can exchange the results of their research with others working on related issues in the same geographical area. The term 'Himalayan' is used in its broad sense to include north-western and north-eastern India, where languages of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic linguistic stock are spoken, and languages of Nepal, Bhutan and the Tibetan Plateau, northern Burma and Sichuan, Nuristan,, Baltistan and the Burushaki speaking area in the west. The term 'Languages' is used as opposed to 'Linguistics' to broaden the scope of the symposium beyond linguistics proper, so as to allow those scholars working in related disciplines such as archeology, philology and anthropology working with language issues to present their research wherever this is directly relevant to our understanding of Himalayan languages and language communities.

The Permanent Secretariat for this annual Symposium is maintained at Leiden University in the Netherlands. Previously, the Himalayan languages Symposium has been convened at Leiden, at Noordwijkerhout; Santa Barbara, California; and Pune, India.

The 5th Himalayan Languages Symposium

For the first time, the Symposium is being held in Nepal, in the very heart of the Himalayas, the home of lesser-known indigenous languages which are in urgent need of documentation and linguistic analysis, It will be a rare opportunity for scholars from East and West to exchange their views and establish closer scholarly contacts for future research.

This year's conference will be held at a suitable venue in Kathmandu, and is jointly sponsored by the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, the Royal Nepal Academy, and the Linguistic Society of Nepal. There are several flight connections to Kathmandu from Delhi, Calcutta, in India. Bangkok, Osaka, Hong Kong, Dubai, Frankfurt, Paris, and London. Kathmandu is pleasantly cool in September, and the temperature varies from 10^0 to 22^0 C . Some warm clothing is required. Kathmandu has a large number of Hotels, including one to five star establishments, economical guest houses and lodgings. More details regarding the venue, accommodation and travel will be sent out to the respondents of this circular.

Abstracts

Abstracts should be limited to one page, with text in a space no larger than 6 x 8 inches, including the title and the name and institution of the scholar. Accepted abstracts will be bound into a booklet and distributed at the conference. So, please adhere to the size guidelines and dead line. **The deadline for abstracts is July 31st, 1999.** Abstracts should be sent to the address below.

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Contact: Dr.Triratna Man Tuladhar

3 Nepal Heritage Society
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4 Newa Culture Conservation Group
19 - Bubaha, Taja, Lalitpur
Tel: 534665/ 534849, Estd: 1995
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5 Bishwa Shanti Library
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6 Bauddha Bihar Sangha, Yala
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7 Maitreya Association of Youth
17 - Itachhe, Bhaktapur
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President: Tirtha Raj Bajracharya

8 Asha Archives
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9 Young Men's Buddhist Association,Nepal
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Comments, Suggestions, Concerns and Appreciations

* "Perhaps the journal could attempt to publish in one issue a great bibliography of Newar studies in western languages (with Newari/Nepali translations?) and those studies in Newari/Nepali (with English translation). The latter would have to be selective in terms of studies that are original and with scholarly rigor."

- **Todd Lewis,** College Of Holy Cross, Massachusetts

* "This journal is excellent example of collection of writings and articles on Newah Studies conducted at the time by Historians, anthropologists, and researchers from all over the world. At the same time, we need to support and maintain this kind of effort in the right direction. morally and financially."

-**Tribhuvan Tuladhar**, Swanigah Foundation, Washington DC. USA

* "If I may allow myself a suggestion: the papers written in Newari and Nepali could perhaps do with a summary in English, for obvious reason. This would of course be especially helpful in case of papers well-documented."

- **Bernhard Kolver,** Universitat Leipzig, Germany

* "As I have been not happy with so many things that have been given in this journal, I was originally thinking to write just a brief letter to the editor. When I started reading the journal in earnest, I became increasingly unhappy."

- **Kanak K Tuladhar**, England.

* "I have one piece of advice and that is to just give the journal numbers, i.e. to dispense with vol. I. No.1: that gives hostages to fortune if you just number it sequentially 1,2,3 etc"

- **David Gellner**, Brunel University ,UK

* "I feel that an international journal that aims at professional standards require meticulous editing and it must be entirely in English. The decision to include articles in Nepal Bhasha and Nepali cannot be justified because these do not contribute to international readership and local readers are not motivated to buy expensive foreign journal to read articles written by local writers." - **Tej Ratna Kansakar**, Linguistic Society Of Nepal, Kathmandu

* "The journal shows a great deal of hard work and will certainly be appreciated and welcomed by all interested in Newar language and culture." - **David Hargreaves**, California State University, Chico USA

* "It is a unique and important forum for the exchange of ideas, issues and knowledge about the Newars. I especially like the fact that it is trilingual, which both brings together those who have otherwise been separated by linguistic barriers, and also emphasizes the various contributions made by Newar, Nepalese and international scholars."

- **Carol Genetti,** University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

* "Newāh Vijnāna, a journal of Newar Studies is highly commendable as well as invaluable to know the Newars of Nepal, their language, their culture, their lives in the Himalayan Kingdom. The journal attempts to reveal- the diversified Newar culture based on religion, worship of gods and goddesses, feasts and festivals which have been practiced by Newars, since centuries. Under this situation, the publication of this journal is not only going to be invaluable to the visitors in Nepal, but it will also be beneficial to all the people of the world."

- **Puspa Lal Chitrakar**, Freelance Writer, Kathmandu, Nepal.

* "I found Newaah Vijnaana a very useful journal. You have done really good job. I heartily appreciate you for bringing it out in this shape. I Hope you will be able to continue without trouble."

- **Bal Gopal Shrestha**, Research School CNWS, The Netherlands

* "तपाईहरुको प्रयाश प्रशंसनीय छ । नेवारीबाट नेवार भाषा भएर पनि अनभिज्ञ नै रहें । यो अनुभव लाई मैले ' कल्चर स:कंको अंश मानेको छु ।

-**मंजु हाडा**, सं.रा.अ.

* "अथे मेपिनिगु थासय् च्वना: थ:गु भाय्या बारे व बौद्ध धर्म बारे नेवा: विज्ञानं थें ज्या:गु ग्यसु ल्ला:गु च्वसु मुना: दंपौ पिकायेगु सराहनीय जू । नेवा: तयेगु गतिविधिया बारे छपाता छेल्ल ब्यूसा नेवा:तसें गन गन छु छु यना: च्वना च्वन धैगु खँ नेवा: विज्ञानया माध्ययमं सीके फैगु ताया ।

-**योग बीर शाक्य**, सेन्ट अगस्टीन स्कूल, कालिम्पोङ, भारत ।

च्वसु छोया हयेत ईनाप

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नेपालभाषा सेवा समितिया पिथना

नेवा: विज्ञान

(Newāh Vijñāna)
(The Journal Of Newar Studies)

* च्वसु नेवा:जातीनाप सम्बन्धित मौलिक व अनुसंधानात्मक जुयेमा । भाषा, साहित्य, कला, संगीत व सामाजिक शास्त्रयान्ह्यागुं विषय
* च्वसु नेपालभाषा लगायत न्ह्यागु भासं नं च्वये ज्यु ।
* ए-४ साईजया तुयुगु भ्वोंतय् प्यखेरं गावक थाय् त्वता छखे जक टाईप यानां छोया हयेमा (१०-५० पौ तक)
* च्वसु प्रमुख सम्पादक वा नेपा:या स्वापू कुथी अगष्ट ३१,१९९९ तक दुने छोया हयेमा: ।
* थ्यंगु च्वसु पिकायेगु पिमकायेगु निर्णय सम्पादक मण्डलं याई ।
* पिहां व:गु च्वसुया बिवादया जवाफदेही च्वमी थ: हे जुई ।
* पिदंगु च्वसुया सर्वाधिकार Copy Right सम्पादक मण्डल्याके जुई ।
* नेपाल भाषां पिदंगु च्वसुयात ने.रू. दोछि निसें झिंन्यास: तका पारिश्रमिक बियेगु ।
* छोया ह:गु च्वसु लित वई मखु ।

Call For Papers

Newāh Vijnāna (the Journal of Newar Studies) accepts contributions for its third issue, which will debut in November 1999. The Journal's aim is to consolidate empirical, theoretical, as well as any work done in Newar language, culture, art, history, customs, traditions, religion, biography, music, architecture and the information on Newars around the world so as to serve as a tool to preserve and expose the richness of Newar heritage.

Submissions (articles, abstracts of recently completed dissertations, and reviews of any work on Newars, translations of Newar literary works, notes on any work/ projects on Newars) are invited in English, Nepali and Nepal Bhasha. A hard copy and an IBM-compatible, preferably Microsoft Word, file on disk are required. All submissions must follow the MLA style-sheet, which requires an abstract. The editors reserve the right not to process submissions that do not serve the goals of the journal.

The last date for submissions is August 31st, 1999

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